

THE Jane Bath
HISTORY
MARGARET of Anjou,
QUEEN of ENGLAND.

Translated from the French of

The Abbe PREVOST.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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ИСТОРИЯ

MARGARET of Anjou,

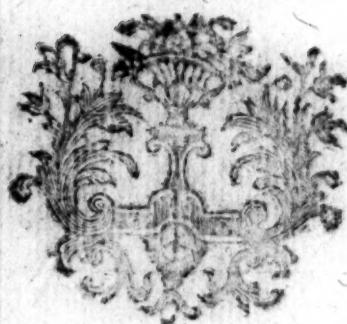
Queen of England.

Translated from the French of

The Upper Playhouse

in TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I



D U A D I N :

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W. DODFAR



THE
P R E F A C E
O F T H E
A U T H O R.

EVERY kind of writing has its laws, and the ease as well as beauty of the execution almost always depends upon the first ideas an author conceives of his subject. It is not because *Horace*, *Quintilian*, or *Pliny* has established this as a maxim, that it is become an essential rule in the art of writing : They drew it from nature ; and tho' it could be supposed, that the world was ignorant of it till their time, yet those who had before distinguished themselves by any work of reputation, must have practised it, though they knew it not.

According to this observation it appears, that the history of a particular person has many peculiar laws, which distinguish it from all other narrations comprehended under the general name of history ; the laws of facts, of order, and of style.

I. To begin with facts, upon which all the rest depend, as upon their proper foundation. My first remark is, that the design of a particular history being only to make known the actions, qualities, dispositions and manners of a person of either sex, all the public

events that are the materials of a general history, ought not to be introduced, unless they are interwoven with those which we undertake to relate. Nor will the embellishment of a narrative justify the introducing any fact of a private nature, tho' ever so interesting or agreeable, if it is not naturally connected with the chief events by circumstances common to both. -I insist the more upon this as a law, because in the work which I now present to the public, the temptation to violate it was perpetually assailing me ; and nothing but good sense, the genuine source of all rules, could have restrained me within the bounds I had prescribed myself. The innumerable events that crowded upon me from the revolutions of the fifteenth century, and the many foreign ornaments with which I might have embellished my narrative, have all been sacrificed to propriety. It is true, my subject was every where sufficiently rich to prevent my regret for what I had discarded ; but an historian, notwithstanding all his protestations, is solicitous to please, as well as to instruct ; he wishes, at least, to unite the agreeable with the useful ; and the reader easily pardons irregularities which afford him entertainment. Indeed the conflict of an author is very great, before he can resolve to avoid agreeable faults, when he knows they will be so easily pardoned. Another consequence to be drawn from my remark is, that even on those occasions, where it appears necessary to introduce foreign events, the law of good sense requires, that we should only take such as have a natural and immediate relation to the subject ; and this will anticipate the censure of those who may accuse me with having too lightly touched on many important events in the history of *France*.

My second observation is, that all the facts, which essentially belong to the history of a particular person, do not require to be treated with the same prolixity. There is certainly a proportion to be sought after between the parts of a private history, as well as of every thing else that is capable of regularity, and this must be determined by the predominant dispositions

and

and principal actions of the hero. Tho' no truth ought to suffer by neglect, yet there are many that require limitation. Thus the historian, who writes the life of a warrior, may find in his materials as minute a detail of his hero's orders for building a palace, or preparing a banquet, as of the measures he took to subdue a town, or gain a battle: but would he therefore dwell as long on one of these subjects as on the other, merely because the circumstances of each have the same degree of certainty? I am mistaken, if this is not the fault which the *Roman* satirist ridicules in the description of a palace, where the festoons and astragals take up as much room as the greater beauties, to which an author should principally attend. This remark will obviate the cavils of those who may accuse me of having too rapidly passed over the infancy of *Margaret of Anjou*, and her domestic employments.

The last observation with regard to the facts of a particular history, is, that the writer should endeavour as much as possible to gratify the curiosity of his reader, who must wish to know the fate of the principal persons that are introduced upon the stage; and not believe that he will be satisfied, when he has brought him to the death of his hero. It is not to be expected, especially in the lives of kings, that those who serve them, and are the instruments of their glory or dishonour, should not sometimes engage the attention so powerfully, as to give the reader much regret, when he finds himself at the end of a history, without any hopes of learning in what manner they were either punished or rewarded. This observation has made me join to the history of *Margaret* an account of the fate of several persons, which I hope will not be thought the least interesting part of this work.

II. Tho' the order of facts in a particular history is supposed to be determined by the course of the hero's life, and that annals form the rule by which the writer should be guided, yet I have experienced, that without any violation of truth, there may be such a hap-

by arrangement of the circumstances, as by making them reflect more force and lustre upon each other, will render them much more interesting. My opinion is not to be a rule to my readers; but if this work meets with success, I am confident it will be owing to the care I have taken to reconcile all the advantages of truth, with that agreeable illusion which arises from surprize, from suspense and impatience, and which, in point of amusement, will make this history differ little from the most interesting works of imagination.

III. With regard to style, if there was any decency in a man's quoting himself, I should be tempted to refer my readers to some reflections, which I have already published in the preface to another historical work *; in which I have remarked more at large than I shall do here, that if it be true, that there is a style proper to history, it is a truth that requires a multiplicity of distinctions. All the parts of a history have not such a constant resemblance to each other, as to be reduced to an invariable uniformity of style: for the recital of a battle, and of a negociation, should be as different, as the nature of the subjects themselves; an example that is sufficient to establish the truth of this observation. The art of forming an historical style properly consists in knowing how to suit the expression to the subject, and consequently it admits of a perpetual variety.

It is peculiar to a particnlar history, that it admits of circumstantial relations that would appear puerile in a general history; and that to the nobleness of this species of writing may be joined all that is agreeable in the most personal and private memoirs. Here nothing is little, nothing despicable, that serves to give us a more perfect knowledge of the principal characters. It would nevertheless be an abuse of this rule to dwell much on sentiments and passions, which make an ornament that properly belongs to romance.

* Preface to Mr. *de Thou's History of his own Times.*

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I would not draw out this preface into a treatise. It was necessary, however, that I should communicate my plan, and enable the reader to judge of my work upon my own principles. The observations I shall now add are merely historical.

If it be considered, that history is formed upon the testimony of a great number of persons, who had either a share in the events themselves, or an opportunity of knowing them, we cannot be surprized that the difference of so many inclinations and interests should frequently produce very opposite representations of the same facts; yet this reflection ought to make us sensible of that confusion in which a writer must find himself involved, who undertakes, at the distance of many ages, to discover truth amidst such complicated darkness. Whatever sagacity or precaution he may exert, a thousand doubts will still remain that can only be determined upon the different degrees of probability; but the same degree of probability not being always so clear as to make an equal impression upon all minds, he will still find himself divided even in writing after original witnesses, with regard to many circumstances concerning which the witnesses themselves could not agree. The uncertainty which arises from this confusion is not much to the advantage of history; but as men we must submit to whatever is the necessary effect of the disorder of our passions, and the weakness of our understandings.

This remark however is not made for my own justification; since no man is expected to excuse himself for an inevitable defect. Wherever I have differed from a modern writer, I have always done it after having first examined the weight and agreement of ancient testimonies; so that without condemning those who have adhered to a different opinion from mine, I boldly flatter myself with being able, by good and solid proofs, to support that which I have followed. *Rapin*, who could not forbear in almost every page of the reign of Henry the Sixth, making an elogium on the great Actions of queen *Margaret*, frequently complains of the difficulty he found in reconciling

historians: is it not therefore strange, that after this he should persist in quoting *Habington*? What idea can we conceive of his embarrassment in reconciling contradictions, while he made himself a slave to a single author, without explaining the reasons that induced him to give him this preference? I do not accuse him for having omitted a number of important circumstances that do honour to this queen, because he did not undertake to write a particular history of her life; but with a little more reading, he would not have made her stay in *France*, when she was come into *England* with the Earl of *Warwick*; he would not have fixed the first interview between *Edward* and *Elizabeth Grey*, daughter to Sir *Anthony Woodville*, at *Grafton Castle*; he would not have placed the marriage of the duke and duchess of *Clarence* almost a year after its celebration; he would not have fixed the duke of *Buckingham's* and the bishop of *Ely*'s plot, at the time when that prelate was a prisoner in *Brecknock castle*; in short, he would not have changed the times or the places of many other incidents related by several historians, whom he does not appear to have consulted. But I have discovered another cause of his mistakes: having rightly observed, by the assistance of the public acts which always lay open before him, that the *English* historians are sometimes mistaken in the date of a fact, by fixing it either too soon or too late in the year; he concluded, that all the facts which they had ranged under the same period of time, were also transposed; and resolving to reduce them to another order, he run into the very error which he attempted to correct. Upon these occasions I have endeavoured to find out the chain of events by circumstances, which could not possibly belong to any other times.

In order to give this work all the perspicuity that could be desired, I once thought it expedient to add explications concerning the birth and claims of the greatest part of the nobility, who then held the first rank in the *English* court. But I soon found, that this would have laid me under a necessity of making almost as many genealogies as I have introduced illustrous

ous persons. The two houses of *Lancaster* and *York* had produced many branches, the eldest of which always assumed different names. The three successive dukes of *Somerset*, whose name was *Beaufort*, were descendants of the royal line from *John of Gaunt*, of *Lancaster*. The duke of *Exeter* derived his origin from the same source. The duke of *Buckingham* was descended from *Edward the Third*, by *Thomas of Woodstock*, earl of *Gloucester*. The *Nevills*, the *Courtenays*, the *Hollands*, the *Essexes*, the *Percies*, and the *Fitz-Alens* were allied to the royal family by the female line. In short, if we were to add to these ten or twelve princes and princesses in *Portugal*, *Castile*, and *Germany*, no royal family would appear so numerous as that of the *Plantagenets*, all descended from *Henry the Second*. But into what a number of particulars would all these explications have carried me? Could I after this have dispensed with giving the same light into the royal house of *Scotland*? And could I then have avoided the necessity of being as particular with regard to that of *Anjou*?

I relate facts, which is the proper business of history. The necessary helps for understanding them are to be found in other works, which a reader should consult before he attempts history; or the fear of being obscure might soon make it necessary to introduce geographical illustrations.

I shall make one remark here, in honour of the three *Somersets*, who bear so considerable a part in this history, which is, that *Henry* earl of *Richmond's* crown was derived from a princess of their branch. It was therefore one of their own blood that reaped the fruit of their glorious labours, to keep the house of *Lancaster* in possession of the throne. *Henry* was on his father's side no more than a *Welch* gentleman; but *Margaret* his mother was the daughter of *John of Beaufort*, duke of *Somerset*, grandson to *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*. *Margaret's* father dying without male issue, *Edmond* his younger brother inherited his title; but *Edmond* and all his posterity having perished in the civil wars, there were at last none left of all

the house of *Lancaster* but *Margaret*, countess of *Richmond*, and the earl her son.

Our historians have paid so little attention to the particular affairs of the house of *Anjou*, that excepting some hints scattered in *Monstrelet* and *Comines*, I have obtained but few lights on my subject from the works written in our language. *Moreri* and *Limiers*, after *M. M.* of *St. Martha*, have fixed the birth of *Margaret of Anjou* on *March* the 23d, 1429. This date has escaped the notice of the *English* historians; but to them I am almost solely indebted for the other facts collected in this work. I have without scruple given them the preference to ours with regard to all circumstances in which there is any difference, because I imagined that they ought to be least suspected of error. Thus, tho' all the *French* writers say, that *Margaret's* marriage was celebrated at *Tours*, I have made no difficulty of following the *English*, who tell us it was at *Nancy*, where the king of *Sicily*, her father, then kept his court: and it is not probable, that they should be mistaken in the place of an event that was of such importance to their nation, and to their's only.

I have also supposed from the testimonies of many *English* historians, that the duchess of *York* died of her infirmities, long before her husband; though *Bondi* and *Rapin* make her live till the reign of her son *Edward the Fourth*.

With regard to *René*, the father of *Margaret*, tho' the misfortunes he suffered during a very long life might have furnished a pleasing episode, yet I did not think this a sufficient reason to introduce a narrative, that has so little connection with the history of his daughter. The abbe *le Gauvelle* of the academy of *Angers* has written the life of that prince.



THE
HISTORY
OF
MARGARET OF ANJOU.

PART I.

DISCORD had introduced hatred and faction into the royal family of France. Charles VI who possessed the throne, had, contrary to the fundamental laws of the state, disinherited the dauphin *Charles*, his eldest son, and suffered himself to be prevailed upon by the intrigues of his wife *Isabella of Bavaria*, and *Philip the bald duke of Burgundy*, to make *Henry V.* king of *England*, successor to a part of the kingdom, by giving him *Catherine* his daughter in marriage. This prince had already received the oath of allegiance from several cities; and the principal part of France acknowledged him as immediate heir to the throne. But being seized with a fatal disorder at *Vincennes*, he lost, with his life, the hope of being one day master of the finest country in Europe; leaving as successor to his crown and pretensions, his son, *Henry VI.* who having scarcely quitted his cradle, pos-

possessed two sceptres of which he knew not the value. Upon the acknowledgement of his title, both by *England* and *France*, the Duke of *Gloucester* was chosen regent of the former, and the duke of *Bedford* of the latter; for being uncles to the King, they were called upon by birth to take upon them the administration of affairs, and the government of the people, in his name.

Fortune seemed to smile upon this prince in his infancy, that she might persecute him with greater severity in the flower of his age. When he was about eight years old he came to *Paris*, where he was crowned amidst the acclamations of the *French*, in the cathedral church of *Notre Dame*. But what he owed to the extravagance of a violent faction, was taken from him by equity and valour, and in less than fifteen years he found himself stripped of all he had possessed in *France*; so frail is the dependance upon the duration of an unjust acquisition!

About fourteen years after this great revolution, when both sides began to recover from the tumult of so many events, Henry sent into *France* William de la Poer, earl of *Suffolk*, Dr. Adam Molins keeper of the privy seal, and Sir Robert Rose, to propose a peace to his uncle Charles VII. The ambassadors of the two princes met at *Tours*, and consented to a truce of ten months, signed on the 20th of May, 1444, which was afterwards prolonged to the great joy of both kingdoms, who flattered themselves with the hopes that it would terminate in a lasting peace. This hope however, was well nigh frustrated by an event so remote, that it has escaped the notice of the greatest part of our historians.

A gentleman of *Anjou*, whose name was Guy de Champchevrier, had been a prisoner in *England* ever since the battle of herrings, in which he had surrendered himself to Sir John Faſtolf, but now found the means of making his escape without paying the price of his liberty. His master (a title the *English* always assume with regard to their prisoners of war) made loud complaints, and being supported by the duke of *Gloucester*,

cester, who still governed with the authority of the king, he obtained from this prince an order to his ambassadors, earnestly to sollicit this affair at the court of France; and indeed, it was for a long time treated with an air of importance, that gave apprehensions of its being attended with such fatal consequences as would destroy the tranquillity of the two states. The count de Dunois, Bertrand de Beauau, the Lord de Percigny, and William Cousinot, were named on the part of France, to examine into *Fastolff's* complaint, with the lord Dudley, William Knight, and some other English, who were charged with the same commission by the king of England. Tho' none were able to penetrate into the cause that retarded the accommodation of what appeared so slight a difference, very bad conclusions were drawn from the delays of Charles VII. and the repeated instances of Henry. A thirst after interest or revenge, still raging in the breast of *Fastolff*, he employed the duke of Gloucester to engage the king his master, to sollicit Charles more earnestly than ever, by a letter under his hand, the original of which is still preserved. It was warm and pressing: all the demands that Henry had before made by his ambassadors, were there reiterated without the least reserve: he required of Charles, what he called heaven to witness he himself would not hesitate to grant in the like case, that *Champchevrier* should be seized in France, where there was no doubt of his being now retired, and put into the hands of the bailiffs of Contentin, or those of Alencon and Cherbourg; and that when he was sent into England, Charles should consent to his receiving the chastisement he deserved.

While the public waited for the unravelling of this intrigue, Charles, surprized at the slowness both of the English commissaries and his own, gave orders for the seizing of *Champchevrier* in any part of his dominions, in which he had taken refuge. So far from refusing the English the justice which he believed their due, he became equally impatient at seeing the judgment of the commissaries deferred from day to day, and at his not being able to discover *Champchevrier's* retreat. In short,

short; when he began seriously to fear, that these difficulties, however trifling, and with regard to which he was conscious that he had nothing to reproach himself, would again kindle the flame of war, which was still only suspended by the negotiations at *Tours*, he received advice, that *Champchevrier* was in chains; he had been stopped in *Champagne* on his return from *Nancy*, whither it was discovered he had repaired immediately after his flight from *England*.

Charles, as well to gratify his own impatient desire to see the author of so many jealousies and commotions, as with the design of giving immediate satisfaction to his nephew, gave orders that he should be conveyed to *Paris*; but chose to have him brought privately to his castle of *Vincennes*, in order to conceal his interview with him from the public. *Champchevrier* heard without any emotion that he was to appear before the king; from whom he received with as much firmness as respect, the charge of having disonoured himself by an action unworthy of a gentleman; and when he had obtained leave to justify his conduct, he, without speaking, presented the king a passport signed by *Henry*'s own hand; by which it clearly appeared that he had only executed his orders.

Charles's curiosity encreased with his surprize; but he was still more astonished, when *Champchevrier* told him that his voyage was undertaken for the immediate service of the king of *England*; and that if he had any thing to reproach himself with, it was his having attempted to render himself useful to a foreign prince, without the consent of his natural sovereign. But he excused himself upon this account, by shewing the precautions he had taken not to engage in any step, contrary to the interest of *France*; and added, that since he had met with success in the discharge of his commission, he thought himself disengaged from the oath of secrecy he had sworn to the king of *England*, which he had promised to keep inviolate only so long as the affair should continue undetermined; and especially, as the advantage resulting from what he had so

happily

happily concluded, would be nearly equal to both crowns.

He had the happiness to gain *Henry's* confidence, while he was prisoner in *England*; and this prince had employed him in a negociation of a very delicate nature at the court of *René* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, who usually resided at *Nancy*. Notwithstanding the engagements the duke of *Gloucester* had been entering into for more than three years past with the count of *Armagnac*, *Henry*, subdued by the charms of the princess *Margaret*, *René's* daughter, gave up all the advantages he might have reaped from an alliance with the count, to seek that of the House of *Anjou*. But as it was necessary, not only to conceal this affair from the duke of *Gloucester*, who had an interest in supporting his own work, but to keep some measures with the people of *England*, who without doubt, would see with regret the loss of the earldom of *Armagnac*; *Henry* did not think proper to make his design public before he was sure of its accomplishment. *Champchevrier* seemed qualified for this enterprize, in which he engaged upon the expectation of extraordinary rewards; and to amuse and deceive the duke of *Gloucester*, *Henry* made him consent to bear for some time the blame of having forfeited his word to *Fastolff*, by persuading him, that he would be able to repair his honour, as soon as it was proper for him to make known, to whose interest he had, in appearance, sacrificed it. All the king of *England's* complaints, therefore, were only a pretence to delude his minister and his subjects.

Charles, who was struck with this recital, saw immediately the advantages which *France* might derive from an alliance between *England* and the house of *Anjou*. He knew, on the one hand, the reason he had to depend upon the attachment of that house, and, on the other, he was persuaded, that the most happy circumstance that could befall him, was the ruin of the duke of *Gloucester's* project of a marriage, between king *Henry* and the count of *Armagnac's* daughter: but he was now surprized that *René*, with whom he had a very strict connection, had received

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the king of *England's* propositions without communicating them to him. He made use of the authority of a sovereign to command *Champchevrier* to be more open, who immediately gave him a particular account of his negotiation.

René, tho' distinguished by the titles of king of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Jerusalem*, was neither rich nor powerful; he did not possess a foot of land in either of those three kingdoms, and was frequently reduced to the necessity of applying to the generosity of his friends, to enable him to support his dignity. *Margaret*, his daughter, was therefore but a despicable match for a great king: but nature had so happily recompensed her for the rigours of fortune, that her wit and beauty rendered her worthy of the first throne in the universe. *Champchevrier* had no sooner represented to her father, the violence of the king of *England's* passion, than *René* began to imagine that he might draw more than one advantage from the weakness of this prince. The sacrifice he saw him ready to make of the daughter and estates of the count of *Armagnac*, without being disturbed even with fears for *Guienne* from the resentment of so formidable a neighbour, made him imagine that it would not be more difficult to engage him to part with some other *French* provinces, that would be extremely acceptable to the house of *Anjou*; such as the dutchy of *Anjou*, and the county of *Maine*, which were still in possession of the *English*. He was, however, fully sensible of the unreasonableness of this proposal, these two provinces being not only the best barrier of the duchy of *Normandy*, but serving as a communication between that duchy and *Guienne*. In order, therefore, to gain time to make his representations on this subject to the king of *England*, he had neglected to acquaint *Charles* with it; and *Champchevrier*, who considered the interest of this prince as connected with that of *France*, had made him hope that *Henry's* passion would not be cooled by so weak an obstacle.

Charles

Charles, who was greatly pleased with *Champchevrier*'s story, exhorted him to spare nothing that might facilitate so important an event; and dismissing him with promises of favour, enjoined him to conceal from the king his master, his having caused him to be arrested, and his having learnt from him the whole secret of this negociation. *Champchevrier* departed in full liberty, but avoided making any long stay at *Paris*; however, he did not fail to wait upon the marquis of *Suffolk* and Dr. *Molins*, king *Henry*'s ambassadors, who were perhaps the only *Englishmen* with whom that prince had entrusted the knowledge of his amour. This, indeed, had a greater share in their embassy, than the negociations of a peace; and the marquis, whilst he was in *France*, had sent the king a picture of *Margaret*, that compleated the conquest of his heart.

The marquis of *Suffolk*, however, experienced what a thousand examples might have given him reason to fear; and what a man of his merit, if he had seen his danger, would have avoided, whatever it cost him, instead of running into it without precautions. This fatal picture inflamed him as much as it had done his master: he had caused it to be drawn by one of the best painters in *France*, whom he privately sent to *Nancy* for that purpose. Having received it with an admiration that could not be refused to the beauty of *Margaret*, he accustomed himself to look upon it with such pleasure, that scarce had he the power to part with it to king *Henry*: nor could he resolve to do this, till he had made the same painter draw a copy of it, which he preserved with the greatest care; and without sufficiently reflecting on what he had to hope or fear from sentiments so industriously cherished, he abandoned himself to them, as if his fortune and his happiness depended upon the indulgence of his passion.

The account given him by *Champchevrier*, however, threw a damp upon this imprudent ardour. The marriage of the princess appeared so far advanced by the consent of the king her father, and there was so little probability, that *Henry*, while carried away by the warmth of his passion, would reject the conditions on which

which it was to be gratified, that *Suffolk* seemed to recover his freedom by the loss of his hopes. He ordered *Champchevrier* to cross the Sea with all possible expedition, that he might satisfy the king's impatience ; and applying diligently to other cares, he imagined himself entirely cured of a passion, which he now began to condemn. This tranquillity lasted as long as its cause ; and in spite of all the transports or extravagancies into which this irregular passion at last threw him, we may judge that his reason would have gained the ascendant, if no changes had happened to alter his principles.

Scarce had *Champchevrier* appeared at *Windfor*, where the reception he received from the king, and the ease with which he prevailed on him to admit the excuses he offered for his flight, made the duke of *Gloucester* suspect that he had not left *England* without the king's consent ; and these suspicions were encreased by the care *Henry* himself took to appease *Faſtoff*, by paying him a considerable sum for the ransom of his prisoner : but the duke had not the least doubt left, when having been informed by his emissaries in *France*, that they had seen *Champchevrier* at the court of *Lorrain*, he compared the ideas to which this mysterious adventure gave birth, with the coldness which the king for a long time past had shewn to an alliance with the count of *Armagnac*. Filled with resentment at seeing his projects overturned, and his influence exposed to suffer under a queen, whose elevation was not his own work, he resolved to spare no pains secretly to ruin the king's hopes, and *Champchevrier*'s negotiation. Without having any particular intimacy with the marquis of *Suffolk*, he imagined that he felt for him the respect due to a minister who was his master's uncle ; and his penetration not extending so far as to make him suspect that the king had intrusted *Suffolk* with his secret, he immediately dispatched a courier to inform him of the designs carried on by a *Frenchman* to the prejudice of *England*, charging him in the name of the nation to try every method to put a stop to such a pernicious alliance, while he would endeav-

your to inspire the king with ideas more worthy of himself, and more advantageous to his crown.

Suffolk was extremely embarrassed ; for at the same time that he received this commission from a minister so formidable as the duke, another courier, dispatched by the king, brought him an order to repair to *Nancy*, and not only to give *René* a confirmation of his agreement to the proposals he had already received from *Champchevrier*, but to regulate, in concert with him, the conditions required in granting his daughter, without excepting even the cession of *Maine* and *Anjou*. Two such pressing letters and orders so directly opposite, might have been sufficient to raise some struggles in the breast of an *Englishman*, who always knows how to distinguish between the respect due to his king, and the zeal required in the service of his country. But with the quality of subject, and that of member of the state, *Suffolk* found that he had not wholly lost that of the lover. Love soon formed in his heart a third party, which exerted its force in favour of the duke, since it was upon this side that all his hopes depended ; but this passion did not make him enter wholly into the views of the duke, because on the other hand he had a respect for the will of his master, and a solicitude for the advancement of a mistress, whom he could have wished to see queen of the universe. With a mind divided by a thousand sensations, which it was impossible to reconcile, he took the resolution to let out for *Nancy* ; but without being so much master of himself, as to know certainly how he should regulate his conduct. This journey might equally satisfy both the king and the minister, each of whom imagining that his designs were wholly unknown to the other, would explain it according to his own separate intentions ; and he flattered himself, that while he was on the road his reflections would lead him to fix upon a proper method of conducting himself between interest, love, and ambition.

However upon his arrival at *Nancy*, he was far from having come to any determination ; and not daring to appear openly in a court, where he did not yet know

know what reason he should give for his journey, he chose rather to present himself without the splendor of a public character, than be under the necessity of explaining his master's intentions or his own, by declaring himself a minister from the king of *England*. The court of *Lorrain* was extremely brilliant at this time, being filled by a multitude of strangers, whom the merit of the two princesses, the king's daughters, continually drew thither. The eldest, whose name was *Yolanda*, had married *Ferry*, the son of *Anthony de Vaudemont*; and this marriage put an end to the bloody disputes which had subsisted for many years about the succession of *Lorrain*. *Margaret*, tho' without a fortune, or the hopes of obtaining one, raised the admiration and attracted the regard of all the young nobility in *Europe*. The *French* having joined to their natural gallantry, the warmest sentiments of gratitude towards *René*, for the services he had rendered *Charles* against the *English*, considered *Nancy* as their master's court, and strove to make it the seat of magnificence and joy. *Suffolk* therefore had it in his power to persuade the public, that curiosity alone had brought him to a city, that had the reputation of being the abode of pleasure; and to form his reasons for seeing the King or the princess according as circumstances presented themselves.

His passion, which was more deeply rooted in his heart than he imagined, made him impatient to obtain a sight of *Margaret*; whom he found so superior to her picture, that the uncertainty in which he had been till that time, did not last a moment longer: his love regained all its force, the king's interest yielded to that of the duke of *Gloucester*, and the conduct that appeared to be most just, appeared also most agreeable to his own sensations. He had yet been only to see *René* and the princess, to pay his first duty to them, which a man of his rank could not dispense with on his arrival at their court. His first audience was short; and having been only one night at *Nancy*, he had not had time to inform himself if there were any other *Englishmen* in the city. However, as he was leaving

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the palace, he met the duke of *York*, who did not shew less surprize than he at this accidental interview. Tho' they were friends, they accosted each other with an eagerness which proceeded from very opposite motives ; and the curiosity each felt to know by what chance they happened to meet there being almost equal, the duke postponed the business which had brought him to court, to return back with the marquis of *Suffolk*.

The duke was not ignorant of the commission which the marquis had received from the *Englise* minister, but he did not think he had been to execute it at *Nancy* : however imagining that he could have no other motive for coming thither, but to discharge his duty, he instantly explained to him his own designs.

After having exaggerated the injury which *Henry* would do to *England* by his marriage with the princess *Margaret*, he informed him that the duke of *Gloucester*, who had concerted a much more advantageous alliance for this prince, was not only resolved, as *Suffolk* well knew, to employ every method to prevent the entrance of the family of *Anjou* into *England*, but with a view of speedily curing the king of this caprice, had thought of making other proposals to *René* with respect to his daughter. These were to offer him, the duke of *York*, as a husband for that princess, with advantages so considerable, that a king so poor, as *René* could not with prudence reject.

Richard duke of *York* was a descendant of the royal family of *England*; he was married, but his wife was then sinking under a disorder, which all her physicians had declared to be mortal. His birth being equal to that of the most illustrious persons in *Europe*, the duke of *Gloucester* imagined, that in making him an establishment worthy of *René* and his daughter, they would be easily induced to prefer his hand to that of the king's, especially when they shouyd be informed of the oposition which all *England* would not fail to make to an alliance with their prince. He was persuaded, that an infallible means of making *René* enter into his views, was to offer him *Anjou* and *Maine*, not only

only as an appendage which should pass to the children of *Richard*, but as an inheritance granted by the consent of the whole nation; with this tempting condition with respect to *René*, that these two provinces should fall to his other descendants, after the death of *Richard* and his successors. There was so little appearance, that the King of *Sicily* could be able to resist these dazzling offers, that the duke of *York* had not hesitated to take upon himself a negotiation, the success of which did not appear to be attended with the least uncertainty. He left *London* at the time the duke of *Gloucester* dispatched a courier to *Suffolk*, to engage him to second, by other methods, a design which it was not yet necessary to communicate to him: but since the marquis was so happily found at *Nancy*, and did not pretend to give an air of mystery to a step of which he only would have the honour of reaping all the advantage, *York* was in no fear of communicating his own enterprize to him, and of engaging him as much by the considerations of friendship, as by those of the good of the state, and the orders of the minister, to join in the completion of it.

This plan was conceived with great judgment by the duke of *Gloucester*, who did not depend too much on his power, when he flattered himself with gaining the approbation of the whole nation; but it had never entered his thoughts, that the king his nephew had made *René* the same offers, with this advantageous difference in favour of the house of *Anjou*, that in placing a daughter upon the throne, it entered immediately into the possession of two provinces, which were to be the price of this marriage.

Suffolk perceived the inequality of these conditions, and knew at the same time, that being entrusted with the king's offers, he alone was capable of unravelling this intrigue. He took particular care not to discover other reasons for his coming to *Nancy* than those that were already assigned; but secretly piqued at finding a rival where he so little expected it; he waited till he should be freed from his presence, in order to deliberate on so unfortunate an occurrence.

At last recollecting that he had met him at the gate of the palace, where he probably went only to present himself to the king ; and that if he left him but for a moment, he could not doubt but he would return thither again to hasten the declaration of his proposals, he resolved to make him defer it at least for a day or two ; and affecting to make a return for his confidence by protestations of zeal and friendship, he started difficulties which the duke had not foreseen. " Before we open this affair to *René*, said he, we ought to be certain that this prince has not already entered into the engagements with *Henry* ; supposing this to be the case, we must begin with raising obstacles to the marriage on the side of *England*, since we cannot promise ourselves, that *René* and his daughter will rashly break through a promise made to a great prince, for the sake of hearing the proposals of his subject." *Suffolk* then insinuated, that the design of clearing up this great point had brought him to *Nancy*, and that to fulfil the orders he had received from the duke of *Gloucester*, he had thought it most advisable to begin with clearing up this circumstance. Some reflections that were added on the ridicule, which the duke would be exposed to if his proposals came after the king's were accepted, and on the danger of making his making an irreconcileable enemy, before he had taken the least step to secure him from his resentment, gave all the weight he could desire to his persuasions.

Instead of returning to the palace, the duke of *York* now resolved to conceal himself for some days at *Nancy*, to take time to consider of these just reasons for fear ; while *Suffolk*, pressed by his own apprehensions in this interval, took a resolution which would have done great honour to the rectitude and nobleness of his character, if the light that has been given into his sentiments did not force us to attribute his conduct to very different principles : but if there should remain any doubt after what has been hitherto related of the disposition of his heart, the sequel will be necessary to

explain his views, and I shall not turn to his glory what can only pass for a caprice of love.

While he had nothing to fear but king *Henry's* projects, hope itself, which began to revive in his heart, since his receiving his commission from the duke of *Gloucester*, had never carried him farther than to counterwork his master's passion ; he only thought of destroying another's happiness, without attending to what was necessary for the security of his own : but after he had heard the design of the duke of *York*, he perceived that he was the slave of desires which he could not hope to gratify : the Rank of *Margaret*, and the proposals of a rival whose birth was so superior to his immediately appeared two insurmountable obstacles, which it would be folly to oppose. This would have contributed as much to his cure, as the dictates of the most rigid prudence, if nature had not formed him of that unhappy disposition, which hurries men of the best sense into a conduct repugnant to their own ideas and settled principles of action : he delivered himself up to all the tenderness of his heart, and despaired of finding a cure.

Amidst the struggles he had to maintain against an inclination which he believed invincible, and the fear of a ridicule much more certain than that with which he had threatened the duke of *York*, he formed the design of drawing to himself at least all the advantage he could in his situation receive, by making a merit with the princess of the power he had to contribute either to her happiness or her ambition. He resolved to take advantage of the duke's absence to gain a private conference with her, and to inform her what were the offers that would be made her, in order to direct her choice ; being sufficiently certain, that by the steps it was in his power to take with the Father, he could hasten or suspend the proceedings, and influence the mind of that prince to lean to the side on which she should seem willing to declare. In making her this sacrifice, he did not at all doubt but he should have the means of discovering his own sentiments ; and whatever effect this boldness might produce,

duce, he had sufficient reason to believe, that in favour of such a perfect devotion, he should be heard with indulgence, or easily pardoned. No man ever expressed himself with more grace and facility: his person had been compared by the poets of his time to every thing that imagination can represent as most amiable; and though by his birth he was not destined to sit on a throne, yet he was of one of those ancient and illustrious families, which are the honour and support of crowned heads.

With all these advantages, and the distinction of his public character, he easily procured an opportunity of entertaining the princess in private. A discourse lively and persuasive, that had been digested at his leisure, and in which he had introduced in a few words whatever was capable of making an impression on a temper formed of ambition and tenderness, produced part of the effect which he had presumed to hope. If a love of honour had too great an ascendancy in the heart of *Margaret*, to suffer the admission of the least degree of fondness, the idea her own sensibility had made her conceive of the passion of a man, who had carried his zeal for her service to such a length, inspired her with a confidence and affection for him, which next to love, was most capable of flattering and soothing his mind. As she had a very improved understanding, and without having ever particularly known the marquis of *Suffolk*, had heard him mentioned in terms of respect and distinction, she thought she ought to banish every species of dissimulation and reserve with a person in whom she had this double reason to confide. Therefore receiving his overtures as if she had been connected with him by a long acquaintance, she made no difficulty of confessing, that in the choice he had laid before her, she saw nothing that could be put in competition with a crown; and as to what regarded the marquis's particular sentiments, treating this article with the dignity which was conformable to his hopes, she assured him, that if she was at liberty to make him a return of the same nature, she would leave him nothing to desire.

with respect to her friendship and gratitude. Next to an approbation of his passion, nothing could be more pleasing to *Suffolk* than this generous frankness.

Thus this important connection, which afterwards produced such memorable events, was from the first moment cemented with all the strength it could receive from the united force of ambition and tenderness. *Suffolk*, fixing his whole attention on gratifying *Margaret's* desires, begged her to confide in him, and to affect even to be ignorant of what he had undertaken. It was not difficult for him to procure an audience of the king, with as much secrecy as he had obtained that with the princess; and he did not gain less advantage from the answer he was charged to deliver to that prince. The only condition he demanded with respect to himself, was to defer for some time the declaration of this treaty. It was now necessary to satisfy the duke of *York*, whom he was unwilling to make his enemy; and keep fair not only with the minister of *England*, but with the whole nation, which began to shew an obstinate aversion to the king's marriage. As to the duke, *Suffolk* found no great difficulty in getting rid of his importunities; for scarce had he made known what he pretended to have discovered by the help of money and his own industry, than the fear of that ridicule with which *Suffolk* had threatened him, obliged him to quit *Nancy*, in order to return to *England*. But the little care *Suffolk* took to send an account of his proceedings to the duke of *Gloucester*, raised suspicions in his breast, which nothing was ever able thoroughly to efface.

Whilst *René* was rejoicing in the prospect of an alliance attended with such extraordinary advantages to his whole family, *Henry* learnt that his desires were on the point of being gratified. The duke his uncle had taken care to educate him in a kind of submission that bordered on servility, and the secrecy with which he had been obliged to carry on the treaty of his marriage, was an evident proof of his dependance; but the joy with which his success inspired him, prompted him to break at once through this restraint: He sent orders to

Suffolk

Suffolk, who after he had acquainted him with the success of his commission, had returned to *Paris*, to repair again to king *René*'s court, under the title of ambassador extraordinary, and demand the princess publickly in marriage. He also wrote to the king of *France*, his uncle, to communicate to him the news of this alliance, and to inform him with all the ardour of a young lover, of the extent of his happiness. *Charles* for a long time had been acquainted with the business, that was transacting at *Nancy*; *René* was too closely connected with him to avoid consulting him on this occasion, and it was by his advice that the cession of *Anjou* and *Maine* was made the first condition of the marriage: He therefore answered *Henry* in terms most proper to confirm him in his sentiments. This letter, which soon became publick in *England*, and the news of *Suffolk*'s being sent ambassador to *Nancy*, spread discontent over the whole island. Tho' the people had not considered the count of *Armagnac*'s alliance as an extraordinary advantage, yet it was to be feared that his vexation at seeing his daughter rejected after so many negotiations and promises, would prompt him to think of revenge, which the neighbourhood of *Guienne* offered him an opportunity of gratifying; so that two provinces were absolutely given up, and the possession of another endangered. It is certain, that if the duke of *Gloucester* had entertained the ambitious views which many historians charge him with, he might from this step have formed a more favourable conjuncture of affairs, than that which subsisted at the time when *Henry*'s successor mounted the throne.

The duke finding the proceedings too far advanced to be stopped with safety, quietly acquiesced in the views of the king, and his example recovered *England* from the ferment which this marriage had occasioned. The treaty was executed in all its circumstances; *Suffolk* received orders to give up *Anjou* and *Maine* to king *René*, under the guarantee of *France*; and the marriage of the princess was celebrated at *Nancy* with the greatest pomp and magnificence.

But the rejoicings upon this occasion were interrupted by an event, which changed them into sorrow and mourning. At the time the new queen of *England* was preparing to leave her father's court, *Margaret of Scotland*, the dauphin's wife, died at *Challons* of a sudden illness that carried her off in the flower of her age. All *France* lamented the loss of this excellent princess; but the grief of those who had been particularly attached to her person, and were more intimately acquainted with her uncommon perfections, was immoderate. A young *English* lady, whose name was *Saunders*, had been always treated by her with particular marks of distinction, and without being known by the rest of her court, had attracted as much respect by her beauty and merit, as by the favour of the dauphiness. The excess of her sorrow for the death of her benefactress, raised every ones pity; and as it was doubted whether she had now any assylum, there were few men of merit in the court of *France*, who did not offer her their consolation and assistance. However, at a time when it was least expected, she suddenly disappeared; and if she could have been sensible of any thing but grief, she must have been pleased at learning the concern which her absence had occasioned.

Her design was to meet the queen in her way to *England*, and to throw herself at her feet, without any other recommendation than the honour of having belonged to the dauphiness, and of having had a share in her esteem. When *Margaret* arrived at *Abbeville*, where she was to stay all night, she was informed that a foreign lady earnestly begged the favour of conversing with her in private: the description given of her melancholy, and the charms of her person, disposing the queen to grant her request, she gave orders that she should be admitted.

This conversation passed without witnesses; and it appeared surprising to every one, that the queen, after having spent above two hours with this stranger, gave immediate orders that she should be received amongst the

the ladies of the greatest quality in her retinue; and treated with the utmost respect and care. The marquis of *Suffolk*, who had been named to accompany the queen, and who continued with her in the highest favour, endeavoured in vain to penetrate into the secret of this adventure. In the mean time the queen happily arrived on the coast of *England*, where she was received with as much applause, as if her marriage had been originally proposed by the minister, and approved by the whole nation. Companies detached from all the corporations in the kingdom were sent even to the sea-shore to meet her; and the duke of *Gloucester* himself strove, by a thousand testimonies of submission and joy, to make reparation for the difficulties he had raised against her elevation. She was crowned at *Westminster* on the 30th of *May*, 1445.

It was observed that on the first day of their landing, miss *Saunders* took particular care to prevent her being seen by the duke of *Gloucester*; and by the secret conferences she frequently held with the queen, it was imagined that it was with her knowledge, or by her orders, that she observed this conduct. She used the same precaution during all the rejoicings of the coronation. But scarce was the hurry of the ceremonial over, and she had arrived with the queen at *Honiton*, whither the king retired to indulge his passion without constraint, than she began the enterprize which had prompted her to return to *England*, and induced *Margaret* to place her near her person.

Miss *Saunders* was the lady *Nevill*, one of the most amiable and most unhappy women in *England*. Her own family, and all those to whom she had been known in *England*, thought her dead, more particularly the duke of *Gloucester*; who after having loved her passionately, believed that in a transport of jealousy he had deprived her of life by stabbing her with a poniard. Having escaped death by the extraordinary interposition of heaven, she went secretly to *Franze*, where she had the happiness to gain the affection of the dauphiness, and to live in tranquillity with her, under a name which had concealed from the

public her birth and misfortunes : but after the death of this princess, finding herself without support, and dreading from fatal experience the new dangers to which her beauty might expose her, she wished to return to her native country under the powerful protection of queen *Margaret*, to whom she related her misfortunes. The duke of *Gloucester* had persecuted her at a time, when on account of the king's youth he had the sovereign authority in his own hands ; and she now flattered herself with the hopes, that the minister's power being diminished by the king's taking the reins of government, she should be permitted to return to her family, and to a number of persons very dear to her, who despaired of ever seeing her again.

Margaret was touched with pity at her misfortunes, but she had other sensations more conformable to her own situation ; the relation of the duke of *Gloucester's* amours had afforded hints too favourable to the design she brought with her into *England*, not to make her solicitous to turn the lady *Newill's* confidence to her advantage. What appears the most strange was, her concealing this event from the marquis of *Suffolk*. But from the regard she thought due to his services, she took a pleasure in endeavouring to advance his fortune, without giving him the least intimation of it ; at least she deferred informing him of this enterprize, till the moment when he might serve himself by putting it in execution. *Margaret* was as much bent on the duke of *Gloucester's* ruin, from the desire of governing, as from a resentment of his opposition to her marriage ; she had therefore resolved, at her leaving *Nancy*, to destroy his credit with the king, and to put the marquis of *Suffolk* in his place.

A person of common understanding would have trembled at the difficulties of this enterprize. The duke had governed a great number of years ; the wisdom and mildness of his administration had made him dear to all *England* ; the king himself, who had been habituated to respect him, acknowledged him not only as the tutor of his infancy, and his nearest relation,

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but as a wise and faithful minister, who had hitherto been the support of his crown. What then could be the pretensions of a young queen, newly arrived in the country, without friends, without relations, and almost without a knowledge of the language which she had only imperfectly learnt at *Nancy*? She was indeed secure of the affection of her husband; but he was a weak husband, who already considered the business of his high rank as a burthen, and appeared less disposed to divide the affairs of government with his wife, than to live with her in idleness and pleasure. These reflections, which did not escape the mind of Margaret, instead of weakening her resolution, served only to strengthen it.

The moment therefore she found herself at liberty with the king in his castle at *Heniton*, she endeavoured to open his eyes to his own grandeur, which hitherto he had no idea of. Besides *England*, he had *Normandy* and *Guienne* with some other provinces, which notwithstanding the loss the *English* had sustained in *France*, still composed one of the largest states in *Europe*. Was he disposed to live without glory? or would he be obliged to none but his minister? Was it so uncommon a thing in *England*, for a subject, encouraged by the favour of the people, to abuse his power, and impose laws on his master? And could the successor to *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.* sleep in peace, while he had about his person the descendants of *Lia-nel*, who would never accustom themselves to think that the crown they saw on his head was not the fruit of usurpation? These first strokes thrown out at random, soon filled *Henry's* heart with fear and distrust; but the conduct which they pointed out to him, he wanted resolution to attempt. He always answered, that he could not take from his uncle an authority of which he had never made an ill use, and which was a kind of recompence for his services: and with regard to the glory she would have him obtain, he protested that he longed for nothing more than opportunities of acquiring it.

The queen did not expect to conquer such obstacles immediately ; but having sown these seeds of suspicion in his mind, she endeavoured to make him sensible how indecent it was for a great king to be regarded by his people as the plaything of his minister ; and perceiving that he felt the sting of this reproach, she only thought of convincing him by certain experience, that his subjects had no other opinion of him. And here chance happily favoured her with several instances, in which the duke of Gloucester had made a difficulty of ratifying favours which the king had granted without asking his concurrence. A certain writer of the life of this prince raises a suspicion, that it was the queen her self who interfered on these occasions, in order to exasperate him against his minister : However, she made so good a use of them, that this was the first charge that succeeded against the duke. The king confused, says the historian, at finding this resistance against his authority, only urged some weak reasons to justify his uncle's conduct. He was even so far embarrassed, as to confess, that as he himself might have been deceived, he was very happy in having a minister on whom he could depend for the reparation of his faults. This was the point she aimed at ; and therefore taking advantage of his confession, she asked if there was any great honour in a monarch's falling into faults which needed to be repaired ; and if human conduct did not admit of a perpetual security from error, it was necessary that in high stations of life, where the people imagine that grandeur and merit are united, faults themselves ought to be so disguised as to come under a better name. From whence it was easy to make him conclude, that the duke of Gloucester's care in so rashly exposing his errors, could only proceed from a fixed design, of rendering him contemptible in the eyes of the public. But Margaret having confessed that there must inevitably be faults in the government of a great kingdom, made a still greater impression on him by adding, that if it was necessary these faults should be known to any, it should be only

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to those whose interest did no less depend on their concealing, than their repairing them; and citing the example of a number of kings, who were determined by this reason to divide the cares of government with their consorts, she forced the king to confess, that nothing but an union formed by love and secured by marriage, could interest two hearts so closely in each other's concerns, as to make them share their repose and quietudes, their glory and their shame in common. *Henry* was so struck with this reflection, that he would immediately have taken measures for the removal of his minister, if the queen herself had not judged that this change ought to be made with greater precaution. Besides, the project of raising *Suffolk* on his ruins, which still required to be managed with dexterity and care, she was desirous of conducting her design with such address, that all *England* should applaud the new government, and the minister's disgrace should appear to be both just and necessary.

In the mean time she began in an unaffected manner, to insinuate herself into the esteem of all the lords, who had conceived any dissatisfaction on her account, or were influenced by other reasons to wish her ruin. *Edmund* duke of *Somerset* had from the first moment been fixed upon to act a considerable part in this intrigue, on account of the concern he had had in the lady *Nevill*'s affairs. His merit, and his birth, had entitled him to the respect of the court; but with all the qualifications that constitute a great man both in war and peace, he had taken no other share in the public affairs, than that to which the dignity of his rank necessarily obliged him. Those who were unacquainted with the secrets of his heart, imagined that philosophy had divested him of ambition; and this opinion seemed perfectly confirmed by his propensity to study. But the source of his indifference sprung from another cause: he was labouring to cure himself of an unhappy passion, that had perpetually tormented him, and destroyed his relish for public business.

It is here necessary to relate the adventures of the lady *Nevill*, which had so great a share in the fortune of two of the principal personages of *Henry's* court; in the fall of one, and the extraordinary rise of this other.

Anne, the daughter of *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and sister of the great earl of *Warwick*, who obtained that title by marrying the only daughter and heiress of *Henry Beauchamp*, duke of *Warwick*, was born with all the perfections of her sex. She was married at fifteen years of age to a gentleman of her own family named *Westmoreland*, who rendered the most agreeable part of her life insupportable, by the excesses of his jealousy. The earl of *Salisbury*, her father, perceiving the decline of her health, and the continual trouble of her mind, was the first who complained of her husband's tyranny, and sought the means of delivering her from it. He happily discovered, that they had neglected some precautions with respect to the church, in not obtaining a dispensation on account of kindred. This pretence appeared sufficient to those who sympathized in her misfortunes: her marriage was declared null, and her husband who had tormented her, was punished by his own vexation, which in a little time brought him to his grave.

She now took the name of lady *Nevill*, and appeared at court with all the lustre of youth and beauty. The duke of *Gloucester* was gallant; he did not see her without feeling those emotions, which were raised in the breast of all who beheld her; and having lost his wife, he suddenly thought of entering into a new marriage; and though decency obliged him to suspend the completion of his design, till the time which custom had fixed for mourning was expired, yet it did not prevent his acquainting the earl of *Salisbury* with the inclination he had for his daughter, and the match was approved of by the friends of both parties. This engagement was not proper to be made public; and though the duke frequently visited her with a view to his marriage, yet that view was, with the concurrence

rence of the father, kept for a time a secret from the lady *Nevill* herself.

She was consequently mistress of her heart, and could not be reproached with rejecting a love that was not much known, or despising offers that were not made: however using with imprudence the right of following her own inclinations, she suffered the duke of *Somerset*, who could not aspire to the quality of her husband, to gain too great a share of her affections. He had been married for several years; and with whatever hopes his passion might inspire him, he ought to have checked them from considerations of interest as well as honour. Both, however, consulted nothing but their inclinations, and *Somerset* did not deliver himself up with less transport than she to a passion, on the indulgence of which they both placed their happiness. The only restraint they imposed on themselves, was the concealing their tenderness from all the world.

This correspondence was successfully carried on, while the reserve agreed upon between the duke of *Gloucester* and the earl of *Salisbury* subsisted; but the duke had scarce laid aside his mourning, when impatient under so long a restraint, he spoke to her of marriage. She listened to his proposals indeed, but only with the design of communicating them to her lover. They deliberated together on this alarming incident, and after much reasoning, mutually acknowledged, that as it was not fit that a daughter of the earl of *Salisbury* should grow old without an establishment, she ought to accept the minister's offers, who was not of an age to give any uneasiness to a lover, and, who on the contrary, might serve as a cloak to conceal the effects of their familiarity and tenderness. This resolution might possibly have been taken, if fear, honour, and delicacy had had less influence upon their minds. The duke of *Gloucester* had without distrust suffered her to treat him with coldness, before he made known his pretensions; but he could not, now she had approved of them, see the same affectation of shunning him, without being convinced, that he had but a small share

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in her affection. Though he went several times a day, he could scarce ever find her at home; nor could any body give him a satisfactory account of what was become of her: taken up with interviews with *Somerset*, and the care of concealing them, she was never to be found at the places where she pretended she would spend the day. The suspicions which this behaviour gave rise to in the duke's mind, were soon confirmed: he was fired with resentment, and the orders he gave his emissaries were so bloody, that *Somerset* owed his preservation meerly to the precautions he had taken to keep his intrigue a secret.

Love however triumphed over the minister's inquietudes, and in spite of all his reasons for suspicion, he resolved to gratify the desires of his heart, in the hope that the ties of marriage would secure to him the possession of the lady's person, and that his authority would at least keep her within the bounds, which he had a right to prescribe. He therefore pressed the celebration of his marriage, and the time was fixed. On the eve of a day so mournful to the two lovers, they agreed upon an interview, which was to be a kind of prelude to their new situation; and for that purpose, repaired to a village near the *Thames*, at a small distance from *London*. *Gloucester*, being informed that the lady *Nevill* was gone from home, ordered her steps to be traced. *Somerset* had concealed his person under a disguise; but the minister's spies having informed him, that the lady was with a man, whom by certain proofs they knew to be a lover, he was so filled with rage, as to resolve to sacrifice them both with his own hand. Accordingly he set out, escorted by a number of faithful servants for the place where he expected to find them. He pursued them till night, when he was informed by some countrymen, that the lovers had returned to *London* in one of the small boats, which went regularly to the city at the ebbing of the tide. She was indeed gone by water, in company with several other passengers, by whom she was certain of not being known; while *Somerset* set out on horseback to give orders to his men, who served him in this intrigue,

trigue, to hold themselves ready to receive her at some distance from the river. This opportunity appeared so important to the duke of Gloucester, that he redoubled his pace in his return to London, in hope of being there as soon as the boat, and of surprizing the two lovers at their coming out of it. He was there indeed sooner than lady Nevill; and being informed by the watermen the moment the boat put to shore, of the place from whence they had set out, he had no doubt that the prey he sought for was fallen into his hands, though the night was so dark, that he almost despaired of being able to distinguish it. The transport of rage he was thrown into by this new obstacle, made him conceive a design yet more cruel than that which he set out with. He intended to stab the two objects of his hatred in the boat, where he supposed they both were; and that the darkness might not cause a mistake, he took the resolution to involve in the same fate, four or five passengers who were already preparing to leave the boat. The order was immediately given to his men; he entered the boat himself, and the first object he was able to distinguish being a woman, who appeared dressed genteely enough to persuade him that it was the lady Nevill, he struck his poniard into her bosom, with some reproaches that could not fail to impress that lady with a sense of her danger. The duke's voice, which she knew the first moment, the dreadful disorder caused by his attendants in rushing on the watermen and the affrighted passengers; in short, a superior power, which destined her to a fate very different from that which the duke had designed her, inspired her with the thought of throwing herself into the water, and she was carried away by the stream, while the duke's men were finishing their slaughter.

He had found so little resistance in such an unforeseen attack, that excepting some cries which were immediately stifled, he imagined that every cause of discovery was removed. However he had the precaution to sink the boat, from which it would not have been easy to wash off the bloody marks of his fury; and with

with the same precaution had stones fastened to the dead bodies, to precipitate them with greater certainty to the bottom of the river. 'Tis from his own confession, that historians have collected this detail of all these circumstances, when he was forced to acknowledge them by accusations, against which he had nothing to reply. They however do him the justice to say, that his temper did not lead him to acts of violence, and that on occasions where he had the liberty of following the dictates of his heart, he took pleasure in making himself beloved by acts of beneficence: But how can love and jealousy be considered as dangerous passions, if they are not capable of changing the best dispositions, and sometimes carrying them to an excess of cruelty?

The duke of *Gloucester* had taken all this care to conceal his crime, in order to preserve the esteem of the public; for his power was at that time so great, that he had nothing to fear either from his enemies, or the laws. The earl of *Salisbury* did not long press him to know the fate of his daughter; and his testimony being sufficient to leave no doubt in the mind of the earl, of her being dishonoured by a shameful passion, they agreed that this catastrophe should remain a secret, and that her death should be attributed to some natural cause. The duke of *Somerset* was himself ignorant of it, and having learnt nothing of his servants, who had waited to no purpose in a street adjoining to the river, he found himself constrained after a thousand unsuccessful enquiries, to stifle the uneasiness that preyed upon his mind for several years.

In the mean while the lady *Nevill* was carried down the river in the extremest danger; for it was less the hope of saving herself, than her fear at the sight of an evil still more dreadful, that made her take this rash resolution. The garb of the women at that time was of so fantastical a form, that the gown being spread out by a large fardingale, she was happily supported on the surface, till she was taken up by the captain of a *Norman* vessel, who was coming down in his shallop, and who soon discovered, by a multitude of proofs,

that

that he had not done this favour to a person of ordinary rank. By means of proper assistance she was brought to herself ; and recovering so much presence of mind as to let nothing escape her that might make known her birth and adventure, she no sooner found that she owed her safety to a *French* captain, than she resolved to make use of his services. Such a terrible extremity was a powerful remedy against love : Forgetting therefore the duke of *Somerset*, and thinking only how she should save her life, she engaged the captain to keep her concealed till his departure, and to take her with him to *France*. Margaret Stuart arrived at *Paris* at the same time, in order to marry the dauphin. Her meeting with this Princeps was a new instance of the care of heaven in her favour, to whom without confessing her frailty with regard to the duke of *Somerset*, she made so moving a recital of her misfortune, that she obtained her friendship, and the liberty of living with her under a disguise that deceived the whole court of *France*.

Queen Margaret, upon receiving this intelligence at *Abbeville*, did not at all question, but that the minister of *England's* being guilty of so detestable an action, would one time or other serve to strengthen the project she had already formed for his ruin ; without reckoning that a family so powerful as the *Neville's*, would probably need no other motive to bend them to her, and to engage with warmth in her interests. She was willing, however, to give herself time to observe the disposition of their minds, and to take some measures with the king before she communicated this affair to the earl of *Salisbury* : but the death of the duchess of *Somerset*, which happened at this interval, made delay unnecessary with regard to the duke. It appeared to her impossible for him not to have preserved so tender a remembrance for the lady *Neville*, as to consider his finding her at a time when he might fully indulge all the inclination he had felt for her, as the greatest happiness of his life ; and perhaps, she might be sollicited by the lady *Neville* herself who could not

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be near the man she had so fondly loved, without feeling all the ardour of her passion renewed.

Much formality was not necessary to be used in informing the duke of a piece of news, that was so likely to fill him with joy. *Margaret*, having reserved to herself this satisfaction, ordered him to be informed that she desired to speak with him in private; and without making him purchase her explanation at too high a price, she told him what he had to expect from her goodness, if he was capable of taking certain measures for her interest. She had much less difficulty in obtaining from him the promises which she expected him to make, than credit to the truth of her story. As he had still a passionate affection for the memory of the lady *Neville*, and firmly believed her to be dead; what agitations must he not feel at finding that she was not only living, but so near him, as to receive a promise of seeing her that instant? After having sworn to pay a blind obedience to the queen, and to cherish an implacable hatred against the minister, which should never be extinguished till he had taken the most cruel vengeance, he conjured her not to defer for a moment the restoring to him the sole object for which he desired to live. She consented; but it was on the following conditions, to which, though very severe, he submitted without hesitation: first, that after having seen her once, for the sake of convincing him that she was still alive, and still persevered in her affection for him, he should see her no more till the duke of *Gloucester's* fall; by which constraint she was sure to keep up to the ardour which she had kindled: secondly, that he should pretend to be upon ill terms with her so long as she should judge this conduct necessary for the success of their common interest: and lastly, that after having engaged all his friends in the project of stripping the minister of his power, he should lay before the parliament the complaints of the nation against the duke of *Gloucester*, for abusing the king's authority.

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The last of these would have appeared most repugnant to a man of *Somerset's* character; it he had been capable of finding any thing difficult after having submitted to the first. But he was as much enflamed with revenge as with love: though he had hitherto made profession of some attachment to the minister, yet he engaged himself in his ruin with the most horrid imprecations; and the promises of grandeur, which the queen added as an additional motive, appeared unworthy of the two powerful passions which possessed his heart. The lovers saw each other with transports that are not to be described: the queen shared in them, and was charmed at beholding their mutual extasy: but having more ambition than tenderness, she soon interrupted their endearments to propose to *Somerset*, on whom she from that time relied as much as on the marquis of *Suffolk*, to acquaint the earl of *Salisbury* with his dispositions with respect to his daughter. Her hope of the advantages that would arise from bringing over this lord and the earl of *Warwick* his son, was now equal to the fear that had always possessed her of the difficulties she should meet with from their close connection with the duke of *Gloucester*. The interest of his daughter had been sacrificed by the earl to advance the fortune of his son; and he approved the cruel punishment which had been inflicted on her: the queen therefore could not but form a horrible idea of a father, whose ambition could steel his heart against the impulses of nature.

Somerset, however, undertook to make this conquest, and flattered himself with the hopes of success; for having formed a resolution of marrying the lady *Neville*, he imagined that the confession he proposed to make of his former commerce with her, and the declaration of his design to repair it by an open marriage, would easily influence the earl to restore her to his affection. By too much precaution the queen neglected the only means that could secure the success of her design: the fear of imparting too much to the earl of *Salisbury*, before she knew his sentiments with respect

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to his daughter, made her carefully recommend it to the duke of *Somerset*, to conceal every thing that related to her schemes of government : but to secure a man who had sacrificed his daughter to the minister, only from the hope of raising his fortune, it was necessary to have begun with flattering his ambition, in order to have made him resume the affection of a father.

Somerset did not fail to employ all his address on this occasion. He saw the earl. He informed him, that the report which had been spread of the lady *Neville*'s death was false, for he had received certain intelligence of her being alive and in health ; and taking advantage of the surprize into which he was thrown by this discourse, he continued to relate the share he had had in the misfortunes of his daughter thro' the excess of his passion, of which he acknowledged that she had not been insensible. Without letting him know that she was returned to *England*, and without even mentioning that he was informed of the duke of *Gloucester*'s barbarity to her, he justified her conduct from her repugnance to a marriage that was contrary to her inclinations, and by the asylum she had procured for herself in *France*, under the protection and even in the palace of the dauphiness. And being now at liberty by the late death of his wife, he made no difficulty of begging the earl's permission to marry her, and joined to this request every thing proper to convince him of the value he set on his alliance.

He intended, after he had awakened the sentiments of humanity in the earl's breast, and had disposed him by proposals of marriage to restore his daughter to favour, to irritate him against the minister, by informing him to what acts of violence he had been carried against a lady over whom he had no power. But the earl was of too inflexible a temper, to be easily recovered from his prejudices ; and so far from appearing to be softened by what he had just heard, he burst into a torrent of reproaches against his daughter, protesting that he cared as little for her life as her fortune ;

tune ; and that if he wished to see her again, it was only to punish her with a severer hand than the duke of Gloucester's.

This was enough for *Somerset*, who took his leave after desiring the earl to consider, that in the situation he was in, his honour obliged him to silence. The queen was extremely mortified at this disappointment, and despaired of succeeding better than a man urged on by love. But while she made this reflection, she did not consider that it was by other means, that the earl of *Salisbury* ought to be tempted. She recollect ed this too late, and at a time when this lord himself, perhaps, repented the fault they had both committed.

She next proposed to gain over the duke of *York*, whose birth and shining qualities would add great weight to any party he should espouse. She was not ignorant of the views he had entertained with respect to herself ; but it was to be presumed, that as they had arisen from politic motives, he had now prudence enough to stifle them ; and it was not on so weak a foundation that she hoped to acquire some ascendency over him. *Suffolk*, whose skill she proposed to employ in drawing over such an illustrious person, represented with great wisdom, that all she could reasonably desire, would be to keep him in a state of repose ; and equally to avoid either placing too much confidence in him, or making him an enemy. The hatred of a prince, who was but too sensible of his advantages, and who had joined to the claims of the house of *York* some just causes of resentment, that might awaken his pretensions and his courage, were not only what she might dread as most dangerous to her tranquillity, but an almost infallible obstacle to the great design she was resolved to execute. She ought not to put the king under the necessity of returning to his uncle, to oppose the enterprizes of a rival, against which he would never suppose, that she had either the art or the firmness to defend herself. On the other hand, if it should appear, that she could not chuse a better support against the minister, she ought to be informed, that this would only be to change the fla-

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very, and that the duke would make her pay very dear for the assistance he granted her, though he should not make use of the advantages which he could not fail to draw from it. She submitted to the force of this advice ; and the part of meer politenes, to which she was reduced in her behaviour to the duke, would have secured her an uninterrupted success, if other intrigues had not in the end engaged his active spirit in dangerous enterprizes.

Every thing, however, seemed to concur to advance the work, in which so much care and pains were bestowed. The king impressed by *Margaret's* last advice, never saw his minister without evident marks of coldnes and embarrassment, which could not long escape the eyes of the public. He affected to condemn every thing that passed through his hands, and seemed resolved to take upon himself the conduct of his affairs ; he frequently undertook what he could never have been capable of executing, if the queen had not always interposed to deliver him from the chief part of the burthen ; and on these occasions, she never failed to make him observe, how much it was for the interest of a king to divide his cares with a person so devoted to his interest, as to assist him without robbing him of his glory. He now left his cabinet with as much complacency, as if he himself had established peace and order through the universe ; and no one could extol the labours of the minister, without risquing the displeasure of the king. Thus the duke of *Gloucester's* interest grew daily less and less, while the queen's authority was enlarged, in proportion as she rendered herself necessary to support the vanity of her husband. She perfuaded him at last, that the empire she had gained over him by this weakness, left him nothing to fear ; and she waited to see him in this disposition, before she ventured upon the execution of her purposes.

Somerset, with a memorial in which the queen had inserted all the imputations laid against the duke, during the course of his administration, presented himself one day at the door of the king's cabinet, when

when the duke was with him. Though he had declared that he came on an affair of the last importance, and though his manner corresponded with this declaration, yet he affected an extreme surprize at seeing the minister ; and pretending as if he would retire, he excused himself on his hoping to have found his majesty alone. On this the queen ordered him to stay, saying, that the king was in a manner alone, since he had no body with him but herself and the minister ; and having received the same order from the king, he seemed to exert an uncommon degree of resolution, as if he had been pressed by urgent motives to reveal immediately, what other reasons would have obliged him at this juncture to conceal ; therefore without paying any farther attention to the minister, he offered his memorial to the king, saying, that a subject like him was not capable of a false fear, when the service of the state and the glory of his master was at stake. He added, that as his memorial contained accusations of the greatest importance against the duke, of Gloucester, he was not sorry to find him present since it gave him an opportunity to justify his conduct.

Henry's confusion would, perhaps, have prevented the success of this scene, if Margaret pretending great concern for the safety of her husband and the kingdom, had not seized the memorial, and imposed silence on the duke, who already appealed to heaven as the witness of his innocence. ‘ Let us read this memorial,’ said the queen ; it contains a great number of articles, of which the most important, and that which serves as a pretence for the duke of Somerset’s haste, seems to relate to Guienne. A rebellion has been fomented there against the English government, by the intrigues of the count of Armagnac, who seeks to revenge himself for the contempt England has thrown upon his daughter.’ The share the duke of Gloucester had in projecting this alliance, made it suspected, that he had entertained the same resentment as the count ; and since the diminution of his authority, his enemies accused him openly of designing to make

an independent state of that province : but as it does not appear by any testimonial, that this accusation was ever proved, in all probability they only began with this article to give more weight to those that followed ; and they might promise themselves, that the proofs with which they were able to support the others, might give a greater probability to the first. Among other heads relating to the infringement of the laws of the kingdom, and his abuse of the king's authority, they had painted in the most horrible colours the murder of *Ann Nevill* ; and though they pretended to be ignorant of the principal circumstances, yet they insisted on the fact as an instance of barbarity without example. The duke of *Gloucester* was at first thrown into great confusion by this charge ; but recovering himself immediately upon their acknowledging their ignorance of the circumstances, he protested, as he had done at every other article, that it was a most false and cruel imputation. The queen finished reading the memorial without making any reflections on what she read ; while the king, being troubled at what he heard, scarcely durst lift up his eyes on the accused : after which, affecting to hold the balance even between the facts and the duke's disavowal of them, she turned to the king, and said, ‘ As it would be hard ‘ to condemn the duke of *Gloucester* without granting ‘ him the liberty of defending himself, so it would ‘ be imprudent to neglect such weighty accusations. ‘ We cannot suspect the duke of *Somerset* of making ‘ them at random ; your majesty, therefore, ought ‘ to attend to the proofs.’ This speech having been concerted, *Somerset* replied, without hesitation, that he was ready to produce them, and offered to begin with such as it should please the king to direct. ‘ Well, replied the queen, can you bring any sufficient proofs of the dreadful murder of which you ‘ have accused the duke ?’ *Somerset* answered, that he could ; and desiring permission to go out for a moment, he returned presently after, accompanied by the lady *Nevill*, dressed in a long mourning robe.

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Though her full age, and the interval of several years, had made some alteration in her stature and person, yet the duke of *Gloucester* had still her image so strongly impressed upon his mind, that he immediately knew her. A spectre risen from hell to drag him thither, could not have filled his soul with more fear, nor have spread more consternation on his countenance. He arose with various marks of agitation, while the lady *Nevill*, throwing herself at the king's feet, addressed him in a moving speech, in which the duke's cruelty, the assistance of heaven, which had interposed to save her from the poniard and the *Thames*, her flight into *France*, and all the subsequent adventures, were fully described. She added, that her having staid so long before she made her complaints and called for justice from his majesty, was owing to the high degree of power, which the duke had been hitherto possessed of: but having heard that his majesty had taken the reins of government himself, and trusting to the protection of so equitable a prince, she came to *England*, in full confidence that she should not fall again into the snare she had so happily escaped.

Weak and timorous as *Henry* naturally was, a scene of this kind was absolutely necessary to make him shake off his irresolution: nothing that did not pass immediately before his eyes, could make a sufficient impression upon his mind; and even in the moment, when most moved by what he had heard and seen, he scarcely dared to open his lips to utter one reproach against his uncle, or to attempt to interrogate him. The queen, however, pressed the duke with such questions as forced him to make a particular confession of his crime. But whether she thought she had done enough in obtaining this confession, or whether she distrusted the proofs of the other articles, she interrupted the examination by representing to the king, that an affair of such importance ought to be examined in another form, and desired that a parliament might speedily be called: on which the duke of *Gloucester* had leave to retire. Those who have been surprised that she did not cause him to be arrested on the spot

spot, have pretended that not being willing to take away his life, she hoped, that he would take advantage of this interval, to make his escape out of *England*; and indeed if the duke had been guilty of all the crimes laid to his charge in the memorial, it is extremely surprizing, that he did not think of securing himself by flight. But as the other heads of the accusation are left uncertain by the silence of historians, it may be supposed, that being conscious of no other crime besides that which he had confessed, he hoped to make that pass for a transport of jealousy, the justification of which might be made to depend on the proofs he had to produce of the lady *Nevill's* infidelity; and that he chose rather to answer to this accusation, at the hazard of being ruined by the defending it, than by his flight to create a belief that he deserved condemnation for them all.

However that be, the king having referred the decision to the judgment of his parliament, which was ordered to meet at *Bury St. Edmonds*, he caused the duke to be informed, that he must repair thither, to answer his accusers. This extraordinary manner of proceeding, still, perhaps, proceeded from the queen, who was willing to give him time to open his eyes on the necessity she imagined he was in of making his escape; but he, without doubt, explained it in a different manner; or, at least, did not imagine, that after having left the king's cabinet at full liberty, he had reason to apprehend his being so soon arrested, and therefore persisted in remaining quietly in his own house. This security gave fresh alarms to the queen and *Somerset*. They began to dread the ascendancy which *Gloucester* had gained over the king's mind, whose weakness made them apprehend some return of affection, that might make them lose all the fruit of their labours. They therefore told him, that after the confession the duke of *Gloucester* had made of his being guilty of such a horrid crime, it was not proper that he should appear before the parliament with the air of a person whose innocence was doubtful. The resolution of arresting him was taken on these instances, and

and the execution committed to the lord viscount *Beaumont*, lord constable of *England*. Thus the duke discovered when it was too late, that he had failed in point of prudence ; and as he gave his sword to the viscount, he could not help saying with a deep sigh, that his enemies had prevailed over the goodness of the king his nephew.

The marquis of *Suffolk* had as great a share in this intrigue as the duke of *Somerset*, though the queen did not chuse to have him appear in it. As she designed to make him succeed the minister, by governing the state under her orders, she was unwilling it should be suspected, that he had contributed to his ruin ; and this was a caution which she thought due to the people, who had a sincere affection for the duke, and whose disgrace she was sensible would give them a very deep concern. However, as *Suffolk* passed for this princess's confident, and had been employed, not only in the negotiation of her marriage, but even in the cession of the two provinces, which he himself had put into the king of *Sicily*'s possession, there were none who did not regard him beforehand, as the successor the queen had appointed to supply the place of this unfortunate minister. The duke of *Somerset*, whose love had made him despise the censures of the public, was so happy as to stand excused in the minds of the multitude ; for the character he had obtained of being extremely jealous of the glory and interest of the nation, raised an opinion that he was too easily alarmed at the ambitious projects that were attributed to the minister ; and even the facility with which he suffered himself to be carried away by this jealousy, passed for an effect of *Suffolk*'s artifices, and only served to render him more odious. These rumours, of which *Somerset* could not be ignorant, might perhaps induce him to carry his revenge of the lady *Nevill*'s cause much farther than he would have dared to have done, had he been apprehensive of incurring the censure and hatred of the public.

The duke of *Gloucester* had been committed to the tower, and as he had no longer any reason to hope for favour after so bold a step, he employed himself in preparing his defence: however, he was not treated with such rigour as to be denied the sight of his relations and friends. While he was in this situation it struck into the duke of *Somerset's* mind, that to re-establish the lady *Nevill*'s character with her father, he ought not only to let the minister understand, that by his blackening the reputation of that lady in his defence, he would render his cause much worse; but also to promise him very gentle treatment on the side of his accusers, if he would repair by a formal retraction the impressions he had made on the earl of *Salisbury*. This design was perhaps excusable in a person who proposed to make the lady *Nevill* his wife. He therefore secretly contrived the means of paying the duke of *Gloucester* a visit in his prison, where throwing the ill office he had done him on the necessity of serving the state, which he looked upon as an indispensable duty, he discovered, without any marks of hatred, that he was the person with whom the lady *Nevill* was under those tender ties, at the time when he had thoughts of marrying her. To this declaration, he added an acknowledgment of the sentiments he still entertained for her; and assuring him, that there was no obstacle, which so lively a passion did not render him capable of surmounting, he let him know, that in the extremity to which he saw him reduced, there was still a way to save him from ruin, if instead of defaming the lady *Nevill* by outrageous recrimination, he would repair the injury he had already done her with her family, and promise to do her none with the public. ‘ Recollect, said he, that the taking away her reputation, would be a piece of revenge that would be of very little service to you, since it cannot make the least alteration in the nature of the crime with which you are accused; and that in preserving a discretion, with which it is impossible but she must be moved, you will render your defence much

much more easy, by the advantage you will obtain over the most formidable of your enemies.'

Hatred and revenge are sometimes so blind as to deceive us even in the means they prompt us to employ for their gratification. So far from suffering himself to be persuaded by these arguments, the duke of Gloucester regarded them as proceeding from an imprudence, that was extremely favourable to him, as they were uttered by a man which he could not fail of taking for a declared enemy. The lady Nevill's infidelity had been verified by his confession, and this was what he had apprehended he should never have been able to prove, in order to justify the excess of that fury into which it had formerly hurried him. He discovered even in his accuser, a rival interested in his destruction, and saw that it was consequently very easy to render him suspected by his judges. In short, the joy of being furnished with arms for his defence, by those who had conspired his ruin; the hope of having the happiness to turn them against themselves; his indignation at seeing himself insulted by offers, that appeared to him to be a new instance of treachery; what shall I say? the hatred due to his accuser, and perhaps the remains of a jealous fury, did not leave him sufficient freedom of mind to disguise his schemes of vengeance, and to moderate the excess of his resentment. He received Somerset's proposal as an outrage, and treating him with a noble haughtiness, told him, that as they had spared no pains in order to destroy him by false and unworthy accusations, he would spare nothing that could be urged in his defence. Somerset made him repeat this several times, when seeing him obstinately resolved not to yield, he cast himself upon him, threw him on the ground, and caused him to be strangled in his presence, by some villains whom he had engaged to assist him. At last, having laid him very carefully in his bed, he retired as secretly as he had entered, by the assistance of an officer of the tower, by whom he and his men had been introduced.

A murder of this kind must doubtless have been pre-meditated ; and it cannot be imagined that the duke of *Somerset*, who had lived hitherto at a distance from affairs, and whose credit was so recent, would have dared so rashly to execute the vengeance of the lady *Nevill* on a prince of the blood, who was the king's uncle, and till that time presumptive heir of the crown, if he had not thought himself secured by the queen's approbation, and if he had not acted thus by her orders. The accusations brought against the duke of *Gloucester* had cast this princess into an extreme uneasiness. It was uncertain how they would be received by the parliament, even if they were supported by sufficient proofs : and supposing that the weakness of what they had to alledge, and the favour of the people, should make the duke come off conqueror, was it not to be feared that his authority would gain new strength, by the impotency of those very efforts that were made use of to destroy it ? And might he not render himself so much the more formidable, by at once confirming his power, and revenging the injuries that were offered him ? This action therefore was finishing the quarrel by a single blow, and even the violence employed to get rid of him became a subject of fear to those of his party. The court kept a profound silence with respect to this tragical adventure. The people were left at liberty to lament the loss of a minister who had gained their affections, and the queen appeared to pay no regard to the transports of public grief. She suffered the duke's corpse to be exposed for several days, to let it be seen that he had no wound ; and that if his death was not natural, he must have poisoned or strangled himself, as they had taken care to have it rumour'd abroad. By this means, the grief of the public in time subsided, and this apparent indifference in the court succeeded better in calming it, than any other artifice could have done. But they were not carried to such violent extremes with a view of gaining no advantage from them. The queen openly took upon herself the administration of affairs,

affairs, and to complete her design of advancing the marquis of *Suffolk*, she began by causing him to be created duke. This too great impatience to load him with favours, was one of the faults she had to reproach herself with. The suspicions of the people were awakened at seeing a person treated with this distinction, whom they had for a long time regarded as a particular enemy to the minister: they did not therefore doubt, but that this was the price paid for his death; and their hatred of *Suffolk*, which had been carried to an extreme ever since the cession of *Anjou* and *Maine*, redoubled to that degree, that it drew upon him many insults in the streets of *London*, of which he took no notice.

The duke of *Somerset*, by so much complaisance and zeal to oblige the queen, had hitherto only proposed to render himself happy with the lady *Nevill*; and this passion, which alone employed his thoughts, had made him shut his eyes against all the dangers to which he was exposed. But seeing with what heat the resentment of the people was revived, and not doubting but that soon or late they would discover that the duke's death was his work, he imagined that his safety obliged him to remove himself from *England* for some time; and therefore he desired no other favour of the queen, as a reward for his services, than her permission to go to *Normandy* and marry the lady *Nevill*. Possessed still with those philosophic inclinations, which he had long indulged, he formed the design of leading a life of tranquillity amidst the enjoyments of love and retirement. But the queen, who knew him better than he knew himself, and who had discovered that he had a fund of wit and bravery, from which she expected to reap other advantages, would not consent to his desire of retiring from business, and therefore proposed to confer on him the regency of *France*, which had for some time been trusted to the duke of *York*. This was a dangerous proposal; but it appeared much less so to that princess than the blind confidence with which they had given

the duke of *York* a post of such importance ; for tho' she had not dared to make any opposition to his obtaining that honour, at a time when she was afraid of making him her enemy, she remembered *Suffolk's* advice, that she had reason to be equally apprehensive of the effects of granting too much power to the chief of a house so formidable as that of *Lancaster*. Besides, the most certain means of securing her authority, was to have a regent in *France* devoted to her interest ; and the influence she had acquired over the duke of *Somerset* was a perpetual security with regard to his fidelity.

But nothing confirmed this resolution so much as the last advice of the cardinal of *Winchester*, a prince of the royal house of *Lancaster*. This man, who was the richest and most voluptuous prelate of that age, had for many years of his life counterbalanced the power of his nephew the duke of *Gloucester*. His riches, and the dignity of high chancellor with which he was invested, had given him so considerable a weight in the state, that having been several times accused by the minister with the guilt of the most odious crimes, he had always the happiness of rising again with such a blaze, as to make his accuser tremble, by exposing him to the same fears, and the same dangers. Their hatred sprung from an irregular passion which both felt for *Eleanor Cobham*, a lady of quality, who was as dangerous on account of her art as her beauty. After having for a long time deceived them both, she gave herself up absolutely to the cardinal, on finding that the duke of *Gloucester* had married *Jane of Brabant*. But the difficulties the duke found in his marriage, having obliged him to submit to the pope's sentence which declared it null, she formed more ambitious hopes, and managed her affairs so dextrously, that she at last laid the duke of *Gloucester* under the necessity of marrying her. After this treachery the cardinal's love was changed into hatred, and his schemes of revenge were levelled as much against the duchess as his nephew. He was served so faithfully by his spies, that having

having been informed that the duchess, from a curiosity common enough among women, held frequent conferences with a priest who passed for a necromancer, and a woman who had the reputation of being a sorceress, he engaged a number of persons to form against her an accusation of high treason. She was charged with having, in conjunction with these two confidants, formed an image of wax, representing the king, with the hope that by making it melt by degrees, the strength of the king would insensibly diminish, and that he would lose his life as soon as the image was entirely dissolved. The duchess's design, as, was alledged, was to fix the crown on her husband's head ; as it could not be supposed that she formed this project without his consent, they hoped to involve the duke both in the crime, and in its punishment. The duchess in her own justification confessed, that she had desired the priest and woman to compose a love potion proper to fix the inconstancy of her husband. But though this confession had no relation to the attempt with which she was accused, the cardinal had taken such infallible measures, that the priest was condemned to be hanged, the woman to be burned, and the duchess to do penance in St. Paul's church, and to be shut up in prison during her life. Such an aggravating mortification to the first prince of the blood, who had been protector of the kingdom, and was still prime minister, raised his utmost resentment against the cardinal ; but he found him so powerful, that he was constrained to suppress his complaints, that he might not give him occasion to level his attack directly against himself. The cardinal, who on his side, could not doubt but that an enemy irritated by such cruel injuries, would seek occasion to destroy him, secured himself from all kinds of blame, by a very singular precaution : he obtained letters under the broad seal, by which the king granted him a general pardon of all his crimes, from the creation of the world to the day on which this act of oblivion was dated.

As these were the settled dispositions both of the uncle and nephew, the duke of Gloucester's death became the most agreeable news that could be carried to the cardinal. It had been wholly unforeseen ; for the queen dreading his credit and influence, had thought less of acquainting him with her projects, and employing him against his nephew, than of keeping from him all opportunities of penetrating into her views, and conceiving a jealousy at her authority. Notwithstanding his age, he was a greater slave than ever to his pleasures, and had for some time retired to his country palace, from a kind of lassitude, after the injuries he had done the duke, and the inquietudes he had occasioned ; and was there indulging all the delights of life, when he was informed of Gloucester's disgrace and death. The habit of committing injuries, and some rumours from which he had with great judgment discovered the truth, enabled him to penetrate into the share the queen had in this catastrophe. He wrote to her to congratulate her on the success of her enterprize. His terms were vague with respect to what related to her ; but he was so far from dissembling the joy he felt for the duke's death, that he mentioned it as a service done to himself. However, scarce had he enjoyed this satisfaction a month, when he was seized by a mortal illness, which in a few days brought him to the last extremity. In his last moments, he wrote another letter to the queen, in which he set down whatever he had found by experience to be most useful to the house of Lancaster. He treated the easiness of the king, or rather that of the last minister, in conferring the regency of France on the duke of York, as an inexcusable fault. They had several times, with equal blindness, fallen into it since the duke of Bedford's death. And, as, if he had foreseen the fatal divisions which threatened England, he attributed all the evils that island had to fear, to the imprudence of his nephew, who had nourished, by shewing continual marks of respect, the power and pride of a dangerous rival. This advice, which

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was perhaps the best he had to give for the safety of his kindred, and the repose of his country, was the last service of his life. He expired, if we may believe some historians, reproaching heaven for its having made a greater difference, with respect to duration, between the life of persons so happy as he had been, and that of the lowest and most miserable.

The queen having thus found in his letter a confirmation of the duke of *Suffolk's* sentiments, determined immediately to give the regency to the duke of *Somerset*, and pressed him to set out directly to take possession of this post. The *French* began to be weary of the truce, and making a handle of the taking of *Fougiers*, which had been carried in the night by *Surenne*, governor of the lower *Normandy* for *England*, they took up arms with an eagerness that gave reason to fear that the flames of war would soon be publicly kindled. They could not chuse a more favourable time; the *English* had few troops in *Normandy*, and all places being both ill provided with men and ammunition, king *Charles* hoped that a little activity and diligence would soon put him in possession of that fine province. The historians who have favoured the house of *Lancaster*, attribute these disorders to the intrigues of the duke of *York*, who from the design which he had already formed of laying claim to the crown, was willing to secure the assistance of *Charles*, by the loss of all that the *English* possessed in *France*. Others, as favourable to this prince as they appear enemies to the queen, have pretended, that the *English* ought to accuse none but her, with all the losses they soon suffered in a swift succession, and that being still without hope of children, she held intelligence with the enemies of the nation. They add, that having two different ends, the one being the interest of *France*, and the other the fixing an ill impression of the duke of *York* in the minds of the *English*, she had very dextrously found the means of accomplishing both, by giving the *French* the time necessary to advance the progress of their arms, and by taking from the duke all possible means

of resisting them, in order that the hatred occasioned by the public losses might fall on him. However this be, the conquest of Normandy cost Charles but one campaign; and the duke of Somerset arrived in this province only to be a witness of the continual advantages gained by France.

He carried with him an uneasiness which would have been much greater, if he had been able to discover the cause before his departure. The lady Nevill, whose heart he thought he had possessed by so many ties and engagements, refused to marry and to follow him, under a pretence which instead of shewing any just cause to refuse his request, only served to cover a very extraordinary change. The reason she gave, and which she made the queen approve, was, that being on worse terms than ever with her father since the death of the duke of Gloucester, she must take time to pacify his resentment by her assiduity and respect, and engage him to consent to her marriage. This excuse so much the more easily satisfied the queen, as she considered the earl of Salisbury's reconciliation with his daughter, as an almost certain means of engaging both the father and the son in her interest. Of all the nobility who had been friends to the minister, these were almost the only persons whom she was sorry not to have gained by caresses and benefits. But the lady Nevill's heart was agitated by very different emotions. From an inconstancy which did honour to the sweetness of her temper, the duke by executing her revenge, had become the object of her hatred. She no longer discovered the hero who had engaged her affections, in a man who had assassinated his enemy in cold blood, and who had abused the advantage of his situation, in strangling with his own hands a great unhappy minister, whom he had found incapable of defence. This sentiment, which the duke himself had given birth to by the air of joy and complacency with which he had related the circumstances of this execrable murder, had extinguished that love which had before filled her bosom, and left nothing but disgust

gust for him, who had been for a long time the idol of her soul.

However, she so well disguised this change, as to give him no other uneasiness, besides that which arose from seeing his happiness deferred : but as she had a mind naturally susceptible of tenderness, it was difficult for her to continue long free after being cured of her first passion. The duke of *York* arrived from *Normandy*, and whatever resentment he preserved for the affront he had just received, he appeared at court with a deep dissimulation, under which he so dexterously concealed his projects of revenge, that he even deceived the queen herself. Pleasure seemed his only employment ; and the better to play this part, he paid his addresses to the lady *Nevill*, whose beauty was the admiration of all *England*: but a passion of which he only thought of making an amusement, became to both of them the most important affair of their lives.

The queen who could not avoid perceiving this new engagement, would doubtless have considered the advantages she might have drawn from it, if she had not been disturbed by other cares which required her whole attention. But the experience she placed in the lady *Nevill's* friendship, having too easily persuaded her, that she might entirely confide in her, nothing gave her so much concern as the embarrassment of the duke of *Suffolk*, against whom the whole nation seemed to rise : as their respect hitherto stopped the complaints that might be made against her, they levelled these against him, who, under her, governed with an absolute authority. The almost entire loss of *Normandy*, after so much blood spilt in conquering it, had at last entirely exasperated the nation. Every place resounded with accusations and menaces. It was publicly said, that the duke had betrayed the state ; and that *Maine*, the key of *Normandy*, had been delivered to the *French*, to give success to a marriage that was of advantage to none but them. They accused him of having taken away the duke of *Gloucester's* life, from the fear that that clear-fighted prince should discover

discover his treachery. They complained that there were but few able men in the council, and a less number still that were virtuous; that on the contrary, they had endeavoured to fill it with vicious counsellors, without the principles of honour or religion, whose only merit was a blind devotion to the minister, and that it was the same with all those that were invested with public employments. In short, without carrying their boldness so far as to name the queen, they complained of a government that exercised an insupportable authority, and reduced to slavery a free people, accustomed to live under no other subjection besides that of the laws. This was the general disposition of the nation, when the Parliament assembled in the beginning of the year 1450. The queen had engaged the king to assemble them, to obtain the supplies necessary to bring the affairs of *France* into some order, without which she found that she should be forced to abandon them entirely, and consequently to expose her minister to new insults. But she was not long in perceiving that the discontents of the people had reached the members of parliament. All the efforts she made to gain them over, succeeded so ill, that the lower house carried to the lords an impeachment of the earl of *Suffolk*, in which without reckoning the vague complaints already mentioned, they reduced all his crimes to ten articles, the least of which seemed to threaten his head. The danger now appeared so pressing, that to give some shadow of satisfaction to the commons, the queen chose to send him to the tower.

Her being reduced to this kind of humiliation was a great mortification to her pride. None of the historians have reckoned love among the causes of her grief. Ambition and the desire of governing with an absolute power, appear to have been her ruling passions; and even her enemies do not reproach her on this occasion with a weakness that sullied her honour. However, if she really reduced her sentiments of *Suffolk* to gratitude and esteem, she must have had a very lively sense of these passions before she could abandon herself

herself to all the inquietudes she suffered on his account. She could not support his absence for two days. She went privately to visit him in his prison, and the concern she felt at seeing him in this disgraceful situation was so great, that she promised she would at all hazards re-establish him in his post the next day. The king, who was accustomed to see nothing but through her eyes, suffered himself to be persuaded, that it was necessary to recall the duke with as much expedition as he had been before arrested. He appeared again at court with new lustre. In vain did the news of his deliverance cause a rising in *Kent*; the chiefs of this tumult were seized, and punished with a rigour that struck terror into those of their party. After this kind of triumph he thought himself so secure, that the parliament being assembled at *Leicester*, he had the boldness to accompany the king and queen thither, in the character of prime minister; but this bravado cost him dear. The house of commons were so shocked at it, that to shew their resentment, they went in a body to present an address to the king, in which they desired, that those who had been instrumental in delivering up *Normandy* to the *French*, should be declared traytors to their country, and punished according to the utmost rigour of the laws.

If any thing was capable of raising a belief that the queen had conceived more tender sentiments for the duke of *Suffolk*, than those of gratitude and esteem, it must be the dreadful agitations of mind which she could not conceal at hearing this news; of this she gave such lively proofs, as had the power of suspending the animosity of the commons, from a kind of respect which her grief seemed to inspire. However, as she was too well acquainted with the character of the nation she had to govern, to trust to these appearances of repentance; after having set a guard over the duke for some days in his own apartment, she, in concert with him, agreed, that as violent measures would never suffer them to hope for a peaceful administration, he ought to endeavour to calm their minds, by yielding for a time to the storm, and even to put a

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stop to all complaints by some signal service that might restore him to the confidence of the public. She made him a proposal that he should go into *France*, and employ himself there in re-establishing the same affairs that she herself had, perhaps, from other views put into disorder; that is, to take the command of a body of troops that were ready to be sent into *Normandy*, and make use of all his endeavours to put that province again in possession of the *English*. Having made him relish this proposal, she spread a report of his departure, with a design of knowing beforehand the dispositions of those who had appeared the most resolved on his destruction. The greatest part of them were the ancient friends of the duke of *Gloucester*, who having for a long time nourished a desire of revenge, were greatly delighted at finding an opportunity for gratifying it. At the first advice they had of his removal, they thought themselves freed from those considerations that had before restrained them; and renewing their solicitations to the king, they appeared resolved, if they were not heard, not to wait for his consent to brand the duke by a disgraceful and cruel sentence. In this extremity the queen was constrained to come to the last remedy, which was to engage the king himself to prevent them, by condemning *Suffolk* to a limited exile, and stripping some of his party of their employments. She thought she had now deceived the commons, and all her cares turned on facilitating this evasion.

The fate of *Adam Molins*, who had a share in all the enterprizes with which they had reproached the minister, and who had been rewarded by being created bishop of *Chichester* and keeper of the privy-seal, was a warning which made the queen redouble her precautions; for this prelate having been stabbed in one of the streets of *London*, she imagined that if the duke was known, he would not escape meeting with the same fate. Two *Frenchmen*, who were in her court, were intrusted with her orders, and promised a large reward, to conduct him, during the night, to *Ipswich*, where a vessel waited for him, whose captain

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was also a *Frenchman*. But whether he was betrayed by his own guides, or that providence had pointed out this moment for his destruction, the vessel in which he now thought himself sure of gaining the coast of *France*, was stopped in its passage by a ship of war. The captain, whose name was *Nichols*, was probably station'd off *Dover*, only to execute this project; for having himself visited the *French* vessel, he put an end to his search, as soon as he had discovered the duke: he made him go into his own ship, without letting him know his designs, or offering him any insult or reproaches: then giving his men orders to seize him, his head was cut off, before he had time to open his lips; and afterwards, as if no important event could proceed from so rash an action, he caused the head and body to be thrown carelessly on the sands of *Dover*, and then sailed to another port.

These sad remains of the most absolute minister that had for a long time governed *England*, were soon carried to *London*, and exposed to the view of the people, whose hatred was glutted by the spectacle. But what was the surprize and grief of the queen, at learning that her favourite, whom she thought already safe in *France*, had been taken off by such a cruel stroke of fate, and that his corpse was at *London*, exposed to the outrages and insults of the enraged populace! her uncommon resolution, however, supported her above dejection. She had not indeed one person near her in whom she could place an intire confidence, except the lady *Nevill*; and in her presence she could not refrain from tears, which she thought she shed upon the bosom of her best friend; and to engage her still more to her person, she told her, that the same vessel that ought to have conveyed the unhappy *Suffolk* into *France*, was to bring back the duke of *Somerset*, the only man in *England*, by whom she could now hope to be served with affection and zeal. From the first moment she found herself obliged to send away *Suffolk*, she resolved to make *Somerset* his successor, and in the midst of her misfortunes, she said to the lady *Nevill*, it was a consolation to her to be able to share her authority with her best friends.

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Margaret being resolved to confer the administration on *Somerset*, in the same manner as she had done on *Suffolk*, who used to act under her eye, and by her orders, thought of fastening the knot beforehand, with a man who had been so necessary to her, by loading with caresses and other marks of affection, a woman of whom he was so passionately fond, that with the utmost impatience he desired to be in *London*, that he might obtain her consent to their marriage. However, the day after that on which they had this conversation, the lady *Nevill* left the court, without giving the queen the least notice of her departure; and being attended only by a small number of domestics, they were ignorant till the duke of *Somerset*'s arrival, both of the road she took, and the motives of so strange a resolution. She was not determined to go till she heard news of his return; but to avoid his importunate solicitations, which in the present situation of her heart, could not but be disagreeable, she left a letter for him, in which she neither concealed the change in her affections, nor the cause that produced it; but at the same time took care not to inform him, that the duke of *York* was his rival, and that she was endeavouring to find out some means of rejoining him.

This prince was then in *Ireland*, where the queen had sent him, in consequence of *Suffolk's* maxims, and the last advice of the cardinal of *Winchester*, under the pretence of reducing to obedience part of that kingdom, which was torn in pieces by rebellion and factions; but in reality it was to keep him at a distance from the court and the centre of affairs. Perhaps she might have still deeper views in this commission. If we judge at least of the queen's intention, by the small number of troops she granted him, and by the multitude of rebels he had to reduce, it must be imagin'd she did not seek to preserve the life of a person, whom she could not look upon without distrust. But the duke's conduct rendered her policy ineffectual. Being assisted by the advice of *Murray*, duke of *Norfolk*, and that of the earl of *Salisbury*, who since the death of the duke

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of Gloucester, openly adherred to him, he discovered the snare that was laid for him ; he did not therefore attempt to subdue the rebels by force, but to gain them by mildness and liberality ; so that instead of finding Ireland a snare from which it was hoped that he would never have escaped, he made friends and raised adherents, that became his firmest support.

It cannot be doubted, if we consider his ambitious and enterprizing spirit, that the many mortifications he had suffered since the arrival of the queen of England, prompted him to form those daring designs, which the new causes of resentment he received from the minister soon put him upon executing. The duke of Somerset, who arrived in London a few days after the departure of the lady Nevill, learnt from her letter not only that she had changed her sentiments in regard to him, but that this change had made her fly the court to avoid him. In the first transports of his grief, he complained bitterly to the queen of her having kept his mistress for him with so little care. But this princess had complaints to make against him. Her dear Suffolk was dead ; and it could not be doubted but that the duke of Gloucester's death had been the most powerful cause that had animated the parliament against him : to whom then had Suffolk been sacrificed, if it was not to the duke of Somerset, who by the error of the public found himself in an a state of tranquility, and who reaped all the advantage of so cruel a mistake ? Complaints so just, overpowered those of the duke, and the only conclusion the queen and he drew from their common grief was, that they ought to unite to revenge them.

Somerset, finding himself immediately invested with the same authority which Suffolk had enjoyed, was not long in tracing out the lady Nevill's steps. He was told, that after she had passed some days in a campaign with the duke of York, she had taken the road to Dublin ; and public discourse having already informed him of the duke's paying his court to her, he did not doubt, but that this voyage was a concerted scheme for
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the establishment of a new amour. They lived in an age in which the famous examples of *Jane of Brabant*, and a princess of *France* queen dowager of *England*, had given great reputation to acts of gallantry. Wit and beauty were all the merits sought for in women, which was much heightened by the possessor's being distinguished by singular adventures, which served to add a lustre and perfection to her charms. Thus, far from having his passion cooled by the inconstancy of the lady *Nevill*, the duke of *Somerset* only felt a more ardent desire for bringing her back, and a proportionable hatred for his rival.

It is true, she now went to *Dublin* under the pretence of seeing the earl of *Warwick*, and Sir *Thomas Nevill* her two brothers, whom friendship to the duke of *York* had drawn thither, in order to employ them in bringing about a reconciliation with her father. The duke received her with all the honours he could have bestowed on the queen : he did not conceal his passion for her ; and being still disengaged since the death of his wife, he publickly avowed his design to marry her. The two *Nevills* thinking themselves very much honoured by this proposal, freely undertook the task of obtaining their father's consent, and restoring their sister to his favour : but the old earl had no sooner learnt the duke of *York*'s intentions, than he himself set out for *Ireland*, thinking himself obliged by a delicacy in point of honour, to reveal what he had received in confidence from the duke of *Somerset*, and to inform him by a very odious detail, that his daughter had less virtue than personal charms. Being arrived at *Dublin* without declaring what were his dispositions towards her, the fear of giving him offence by appearing in his presence, without being assured that he had granted the pardon she had entreated her brothers to sollicit in her behalf, made her take the resolution of living in retirement, during his stay in *Ireland*. This laudable precaution drew her into new dangers. The duke of *York*, cured of his inclinations for marriage by the earl's intelligence, but as much in love as ever, continued to visit her in the solitude

litude to which she had retired. Love produced in his favour what it had done for the duke of *Somerset*, and in losing the hope of being his wife, she became his mistress.

With what unaccountable principles of honour must the earl of *Salisbury* be actuated to believe his glory concerned in acquainting the duke of *York* with the ill conduct of his daughter, and yet after all to suffer her to live with him in a manner that brought shame and disgrace on his whole family! Can it be imagined that he could continue ignorant of this, or that from the hope he had already formed of placing the duke of *York* on the throne of his ancestors, he had given way to the vulgar prejudice, that considers the love of a king as a glorious weakness that communicates no stain on its object? It is certain from the testimony of all historians, that on some new mortifications, which the duke of *York* received from the court, on account of the jealousy of the duke of *Somerset*, the earl of *Salisbury* was the first who perfectly awakened an ambition in the mind of this prince, and made him attempt king *Henry's* ruin. His two sons, with the duke of *Norfolk*, *Edward Brook Lord Cobham*, and *Thomas Courtney*, earl of *Devonshire*, all distinguished as much by their courage and good sense, as by their birth, were, under his direction, chiefs in this mighty enterprise.

The claims of the duke were sufficiently clear. *Henry IV.* grandfather of *Henry VI.*, having dethroned *Richard II.* his cousin german, who died without children, possessed the crown to the prejudice of the descendants of *Lionel* duke of *Clarence*, who then formed the eldest branch of the royal family of *England*. The duke of *York* represented *Lionel*, and was his great grandson and heir by *Ann* the wife of *Richard* earl of *Cambridge*. Whatever fortune or strength of arms had done in favour of the house of *Lancaster*, they could not change the order of nature: ‘in vain, said the partisans of the duke of *York*, is the authority of parliament urged to set aside pretensions that ought to be independent of the caprice of men; when

' when claims are so clear and so evident; it is force
' that must support them.'

However, the duke's advisers joining prudence to resolution, were not for pulling off the mask, 'till they had sounded the dispositions of the people. They proposed sending to *England* some adventurer, who should have the boldness to assume the name of *Mortimer* earl of *March*, another prince of the house of *York*, who had lost his head in *London* on a scaffold; but they hoped to bring him to life again in the country by means of some fables, by which they would endeavour to persuade the people that his death was only a pretence. An *Irish* gentleman, named *John Cade*, offered the duke to play this part. He went into *Kent*, where finding a great number of malecontents who lent an ear to his discourse, he set up the white rose, the fatal sign of the house of *York* ever since its first quarrel with the house of *Lancaster*, which had taken that of the red.

Cade began his campaign at the head of a body of mutineers, and advancing towards *London*, had the boldness to write a long letter to the king, to press him to re-establish the publick liberty, by the punishment of a great number of his evil counsellors. He represented, that the administration of affairs belonging, under him, to the princes of the blood, it was his duty to assemble them about his person, and place an entire confidence in them, by which means justice and tranquility would be maintained throughout all the orders of the state. On these conditions he offered to lay down his arms, and be the most zealous in giving an example of respect and submission.

The queen and the duke of *Somerset* immediately penetrated into the bottom of this artifice. They were neither ignorant of the assemblies held with the duke of *York* in *Ireland*, nor of the characters and dispositions of all those who were of his party: they were still more certain that *Mortimer* was dead, and that the impostor who assumed his name, came from *Ireland* to *England*; and even the language of the letter was not sufficiently disguised, to prevent their knowing the duke's intentions. Instead therefore of sending

sending an answer, they gave orders to the lord *Stafford* to march against the rebels with a body of choice troops. But *Cade* had not engaged in this enterprise without some of the qualifications necessary to carry it on : after a very obstinate battle, he gained the victory, killed the lord *Stafford* with his own hand, and cut in pieces a great number of his troops.

This victory puffed up his vanity, and made him forget the bounds of his commission. The duke of *York*'s design was only to try if the people would be brought easily to rise in defence of his house, and this proof would have been sufficient to engage him instantly to leave *Ireland*; but *Cade*, thinking perhaps to apply to his own use the fruits of his victory, marched towards *London*, which he filled with terror. The queen and her minister finding the troops so very little disposed to attack their friends and countrymen, thought themselves under a necessity of going to *Greenwich*, where the court was then held, and to engage the king to retire to *Kennelworth* castle in the centre of *England*. *Cade* appeared before the gates of *London*. A division that arose among the inhabitants, one part of whom was for receiving him, facilitated his entry. He cut with his sabre the ropes that supported the drawbridge, and having entered the city at the head of his troops, began with beheading the lord *Say*, high treasurer of the kingdom. But though he had ordered his followers to commit no acts of violence, yet he could not suppress a desire of enriching himself by pillage. This weakness, which discovered the baseness of his motives, and the necessity of self-defence against robbers, who made no distinction between their friends and enemies, at last united the inhabitants in the defence of their lives and fortunes, and they forced this handful of rebels to retire back into *Southwark*. Captain *Mathagon*, celebrated for a thousand generous actions, and who by the fortune of arms had escaped with life from the wars of *France*, now perished ignobly by the hands of one of these wretches. Shut up as they were in *Southwark*, they would not easily have been driven from thence, if the king, in order

der to put an end to such a shameful war, had not published an act of oblivion, the effect of which was so surprising, that in the space of one night, *Cade* saw himself abandoned by all his men, and was forced to fly alone to seek a retreat in the woods in *Essex*. But upon a new proclamation, in which a reward of a thousand marks was offered for his head, he was killed by a *Kentish* gentleman, and his corpse was treated with those marks of dishonour that are due to traitors.

Though this revolt had surpassed the duke of *York's* expectations, yet it is not surprising that he reaped so little advantage from it. His hopes extended no further, as I have already remarked, than producing some motions in *Kent*, to enable him to judge of the dispositions of the people; and far from expecting their taking up arms with such expedition for the shadow of a prince of his family, he endeavoured on the contrary to advance his designs by measures which would have been superfluous, had he taken advantage of the successful rashness of *John Cade*. His friends in *London* brought by his orders such strong accusations against the duke of *Somerset*, that the queen being once more forced to yield to the resentment of the people, could find no other method of saving him, but that of sending him to the tower. Her fears were so much the more just, as not being ignorant of the lady *Nevill's* connection with the duke of *York*, she imagined that every circumstance relating to the duke of *Gloucester's* murder had been revealed. *Somerset* himself suspected, that the inconstant lady *Newill* had been guilty of this act of perfidy, and the resentment he felt at thinking himself betrayed by her whom he endeavoured to serve even by murder, surpassed the grief he had felt at her flying from him. But he accused her unjustly. The reproaches levelled against him turned on the loss of *Normandy*, which they ascribed to his ill conduct; and here it was easy for the queen to justify him, by attributing his faults to other causes, and to difficulties perhaps incapable of being surmounted by valour and prudence; and the example of *Guienne*, which had lately been taken from the *English*, gave an air of greater probability to this apology.

Somerset

Somerset being soon restored to favour, he resolved to make the duke of *York* pay dearly for the danger from which he was delivered. He was sorry that *Cade's* death had deprived him of the hopes of obtaining from this rebel the secret of the conspiracy, which he expected to have drawn from him by putting him to the torture. But being still persuaded that the duke meditated some pernicious enterprize against *England*, and that he should perhaps soon see him arrive with an army of *Irishmen*, he sent orders to the Sheriffs of *Wales*, *Shropshire* and *Chester*, to hold themselves in readiness to oppose his descent.

In reality, the duke of *York* appeared soon after on the *Welch* coast, but without any attendants besides his own domestics, when finding the militia of the country under arms, and in appearance disposed to attack him, he landed in another part of the same coast, which happened not to be so well guarded. This attempt was made only with the view of gaining an opportunity to utter his complaints. The family of *March* having always been in great credit in *Wales*, he from thence took advantage of the insult he had just received from the king's troops on the coast, to take upon himself the power of raising an army, which was in a few days so numerous as to encourage him to write to the king, and tell him, that the whole nation was dissatisfied at seeing traitors go unpunished, and that he advised him to prevent the fatal consequence of such a general discontent; that the most likely means of doing this, was to order the guilty to be prosecuted, and particularly the duke of *Somerset*, who after having been impeached by the commons, had been restored to the highest favour without ever being brought to his trial: in short, he promised, that if he would grant the people this satisfaction, he would give his assistance towards the execution of so good a design.

The queen and *Somerset*, who found that they had scarce any forces, and were desirous of gaining time to raise a considerable army, made in the king's name a very mild answer. They said that they did not pretend to deny, that the traitors remained unpunished; but an

affair

affair of such importance required great deliberation. With regard to the duke of *Somerset* in particular, they could not avoid replying, that notwithstanding the complaints made against him, the restoring him to favour did not take place till after his justification. The queen's address had all the success she could reasonably hope for. Her troops were raised with such diligence, that the duke of *York* having lost some time in deliberating on a moderation that appeared equivocal, learnt on beginning his march, that the royal army was advancing towards him in order to give him battle. Though he wanted neither courage nor experience, he did not think he ought to engage the king's forces, till he had encreased his party by more specious reasons. His principal end was to gain over the people to his interest; and considering the city of *London* as the first object of his attention, he suddenly altered his course, that he might gain by long marches the gates of the capitol.

However, he had the mortification to find them shut against him: for the inhabitants not thinking it safe to declare for him, while the king was following him close at the head of an army, he was obliged to cross the *Thames* at *Kingston*, in order to entrench his army on *Burnham* heath. The king who pursued him, crossed the river at *London-bridge*, and fixed his camp about four miles from the duke's.

The two armies being so near that nothing could prevent their coming to an engagement, two bishops were deputed by the king, to ask the duke what was his design in taking up arms against his sovereign. This prince, after having lost the hopes of making *London* declare in his favour, imagined that he ought to keep some measures with the court. He therefore replied, that he never thought of shaking off the yoke of obedience, but only desired to keep the king's evil counsellors at a distance from his person; that of these the duke of *Somerset* was the principal; and that if he would send this lord to the tower, and submit his cause to the justice of parliament, he was ready to dismiss his troops. He did not imagine that this proposal

proposal would be accepted, since the king and queen were only guided by *Somerset's* counsels, whose interest it principally was to have it rejected ; and besides, he flattered himself with the hope of making the hatred of the people fall on the court, by letting them see, that those intrusted with the government, did not mind exposing the kingdom to the disorders of a civil war, to support a man who was accused of ruining the nation. But he was the dupe of their policy.

Somerset, was agitated by so many causes of resentment, that it is not surprizing hatred made him employ every means to gratify his revenge. He knew that the duke had the lady *Nevill* in his camp ; and that to give a colour to this licentiousness, he had prevailed on many other ladies to accompany her, who seemed curious to see the military exercises. If they had come to an engagement, he would have risked his life a thousand times to have seized her ; but he hoped to arrive at the same end by a way both more certain and more agreeable. He therefore advised the king to take the duke of *York* at his word, and by pretending to have the condescension to be desirous of listening to his proposals, to draw him into his camp, under the pretence of consulting with him about those disorders he desired to have repaired, but in fact to secure his person. As to himself, he consented to be arrested in the presence of the two prelates, who waited to carry the king's answer to the duke, and who should be ordered to tell him with what readiness he had conformed himself to all his desires. The duke of *York* was surprized at this condescension. He could now have wished to have had it in his power to recall his words ; but as he could not do this without making an open declaration of his views, he chose rather to run some hazard, than to expose himself to the danger of losing the people's favour, on which he founded all his hopes. He therefore disbanded his forces without hesitation, and repaired to court, without taking the least precaution with regard to his safety.

When he was in the king's presence, he accused the duke of *Somerset* with much vehemence; and asserted boldly, that he was a traitor who had sacrificed the interest of the kingdom to his avarice and ambition. At these words, *Somerset*, who was concealed behind the hangings, suddenly burst from his retreat, and accused him in his turn of having attempted to dethrone the king. Nothing now but his majesty's presence could have prevented two enemies, so much inflamed, from coming directly to the most bloody extremities. The duke of *York*, on seeing in the king's apartment a man whom he had thought in confinement, instantly discovered that he had been sported with, and that he was involved in dangers from which it would be difficult for him to escape. However, far from being disconcerted, he complained to the king with an apparent moderation, that he had broke his word with him, and casting a look of indignation at the duke of *Somerset*, accused him as the author of this treachery. The King, as if tired of this scene, which really threw him into such an embarrassment as he appeared scarce able to support, soon dismissed the duke of *York*; but the order was already given for arresting him the moment he went out of the apartment.

While they were conducting him to the tower, *Somerset*, who had obtained only the half of his desires, went speedily to *Burnham* heath, where he was certain the lady *Nevill* waited the duke's return. She had foreseen the misfortune that did not less threaten herself than her lover. Her prayers, her tears, and all her arts, had been employed to extinguish that fatal generosity, by which he so imprudently cast them both into the midst of danger. However, *Somerset* had nothing less in his thoughts than the idea of treating her with insult; the pleasure of seeing her could not transport him so far as to lessen that excess of bitterness that had filled his heart, and he had determined by his reproaches and complaints to make her ashamed of her falsehood and treachery. Yet he even still flattered himself with the hopes of moving her, and that the remains

mains of her affection awakened by his presence, would bring her back to him again.

He begged to be admitted to see her ; and whatever fear she had felt at hearing of his approach at the very moment when she was informed of the duke of *York's* fate, a request made with such precaution, and under the pretence of its being a favour, greatly calmed her inquietude. She appeared in the posture of a suppliant, before a man whose destiny she would have had still in her power, if she had known how to improve her advantage, and more happily disguise her situation. The duke forgot all his torments and all his complaints, at this rapturous sight ; he was going to throw himself at her feet, and, instead of loading her with reproaches, to beg her pardon, when he thought he could perceive that she was with child. This was actually the case. The doubt with which he put this question gave her an opportunity of deceiving him by a falsehood ; but her confusion deprived her of the power to continue a falsehood, she confessed her frailty and her fondness for the duke of *York*. The most fatal jealousy now possessed the furious *Somerset* ; he seized his dagger, and prompted only by rage and revenge, twice plunged it in the bowels of this unfortunate woman, as if he had found the object of his hatred in the odious fruit of a rival's love. He did not stay a moment after this horrible action, but fled to town, in the utmost agonies of remorse and terror.

The agitations of his mind were nevertheless interrupted by the necessity of giving fresh advice to the queen on the measures requisite to be taken with regard to the duke of *York*. If he had dared to follow the dictates of his passion, he would never have let his enemy escape from the snare in which he had caught him. But the situation of affairs, the disposition of the people, and above all, the last outrageous action he had just perpetrated, giving him just cause of dread, he was afraid of leading the queen into violent measures. Two other Reasons contributed to save the duke of *York*. A rumour was spread at court that the young earl of *March*, his son

his son, accompanied by all who were friends to his family, were advancing with a large body of troops, to take him away by force; and as the army which the duke had just dismissed might join them in a few days, the court became justly alarmed, and was obliged to take more moderate resolutions. On the other hand *Guienne* was already weary of the *French* government, and had sent deputies to the king, by whom they offered to return to their obedience. The duke of *York's* blood could not be spilt without involving the kingdom in a civil war; this must make them forego the opportunity of recovering the possession of *Guienne*, and consequently render the minister more odious than ever to the nation. Such powerful considerations forced the queen and her minister to restore the duke to his liberty; though their own interest, that of the king, and of the whole house of *Lancaster*, made the sacrifice of their common enemy perhaps absolutely necessary.

However, all the precautions that could be contrived, to assure themselves of the submission and faith of an enemy, were taken by the queen and her minister in concert. They obliged the duke to take a new oath to the king, by which he not only bound himself to be faithful to him till death, and never to take up arms against his person, but acknowledged that he should be worthy of being put to death without form or process, and without any pretension to his majesty's indulgence on the least breach of faith. They also forced him to consent, that his son *Edward*, earl of *March*, should take his place in the tower for six months, as a security for the conduct and intentions of his father. With regard to the lady *Nevill*, to whose loss it would have been difficult to have reconciled him, it was happily discovered that she was not dead by the wounds she had received from *Somerset*, and that having had time to learn, during the course of this negotiation, at what price they set the liberty of her lover, she perceived that her misfortune might become an obstacle to his agreement with *Somerset*. Influenced by this thought, she wrote to the duke of *York*, to inform

form him of what they had hitherto concealed from him with the utmost care : but softening this news by the assurance she gave him of the speedy recovery of her health, she represented *Somerset's* behaviour as proceeding from a transport of jealousy that was pardonable in a lover, and of which she already knew that he had been sufficiently punished by his own remorse. This generous conduct in a woman, who had been treated so cruelly, became the admiration of the public, and produced, at least in appearance, so good an effect on the minds of the two rivals, that the third article of the duke of *York's* capitulation was a promise entirely to forget this adventure.

But little dépendance could be had on conditions extorted by force, and complied with from necessity. The war of *Guienne*, which employed the *English* for some time, being ended by the entire loss of that province, after its being under their dominion for three hundred years, there was nothing left in *France* capable of dividing either their forces or their attention. Some disturbances which they had reason to fear from the *Scots*, did not prevent their falling into the custom that at all times prevails among these bold islanders, of tearing themselves in pieces by intestine broils, when they can find nothing that threatens or concerns them in other countries. Thus with a mind filled with the unextinguished resentment already mentioned, with impulses of ambition continually excited by the weakness of a king without judgment and without courage, and by the justice of a pretension founded on natural right, the duke of *York* was still prompted to disturb the repose of his native country, from a disposition which naturally leads the *English* to a hatred of rest, and which made him, in short, violate all his promises.

It was at this time, that is, on the 23d of *October*, 1453, that the queen brought into the world a prince who was called *Edward*. She had been married nine years without giving any sign of pregnancy ; and the king's health, which was sensibly decreasing by dan-

gerous illness, left him no longer any room to expect a favour, which heaven had withheld from him in the first years of his marriage; from whence the ill-nature of the public, which had spared the virtue of this princess during the ministry of the duke of *Suffolk*, had not the same candour under that of the duke of *Somerset*. They were not ignorant that she loved *Suffolk*, and they were still more certain that *Somerset* was in love with another: but the close connection in which she lived with him, and the remarkable ascendant she had gained over his mind, created a belief, that after the lady *Nevill's* flight, he had become sensible of the charms of a queen, who governed only by his advice, and who lived with him in an intimate familiarity. But the sequel will soon discover circumstances, that will enable us to form a better judgment on the truth of these conjectures.

The king's illness now seemed to have impaired his reason; of which the queen and her favorite took the first advantage by confirming and increasing their authority. They had been for a long time in possession of all the secrets of the state; they were feared because they had the command of the army, and they were respected from custom; and the birth of a prince gave room for the people to hope, that the queen would be more attached to the interest of the nation.

However, the duke of *York*, who had retired to his estate at *Wigmore*, and seemed to confine himself to a simple and peaceful life in the possession of his mistress, and the company of a few friends, soon took occasion from the situation of affairs, to renew the designs which he had perhaps never sincerely abandoned. His hopes were not animated by the king's weakness, who in his best health had never been thought capable of opposing his pretensions. *Henry*, though he was not hated by the people, was yet extremely despised. They considered him, as his historians express it, the cypher of a king, capable of no more than lending his name to the queen and her ministers. But his very name would have been capable of maintaining all

ranks

ranks of people in a proper submission, if those who held the reigns of government had not abused their power.

The duke of *York*, without undertaking to act so soon for himself, prepared his enterprize at a distance, that by this means he might the better attack his enemies. While he lived on his estate, where pleasure seemed to take up all his thoughts, he employed his emissaries at *London*, and in the principal towns of the Kingdom, to revive the ancient complaints and the most odious accusations against the minister. His friends seconded him with ardour. He had engaged in his interest all the men of distinguished merit in the kingdom: the two *Nevills*, who made an open profession of being in his interest, enjoyed a reputation that could not be acquired on better grounds: the father was considered as the model of honour and prudence; and a hundred shining qualities by which the son had been distinguished in peace and war, rendered him dear to the whole nation.

It was impossible that the injurious reports that were endeavoured to be spread, should be long concealed from the queen, and that she should not easily know the source from whence they sprang. But the duke continued to live in such apparent tranquillity as secured him from all reproach. His policy thus acting on all sides by the mouths and eyes of his friends, he had the advantage, without going out of his house, of being in a manner a spectator of all that passed abroad, and of letting nothing escape him that could improve his interest. He found such benefit from this conduct, that the first opportunity of turning it to advantage, produced one of those distant services, which he himself only learnt by the success, which surpassed his expectations, and threw all the queen's and *Somerset's* projects into confusion. A parliament had been called at *Reading*; but the king's illness, which it was thought was very dangerous, occasioned its being removed to *Westminster*. When one of the council, who was secretly in the duke of *York's* interest, observed to the queen, that the king's illness was a circumstance that

should give her reason to fear, both on *Somerset's* and her own account, the bad disposition of the parliament; he represented with a false affection of zeal, that in spight of the duke of *York's* promises, and the apparent fidelity with which he observed them, it could not be doubted but that he desired from the bottom of his heart, to break through them all, as soon as an opportunity offered; and therefore to prevent those that would inevitably arise from the disaffection of the parliament, he proposed, as an advice that would be attended with almost infallible success, to call him and some of his best friends to the council, as well to put herself in a condition to examine his steps, as to make the public believe, that she was sincerely resolved to correct the disorders that had been laid to the charge of the administration. Both the queen and *Somerset* having relished this advice, the people were agreeably surprized to see the duke appear at court; and this mark of confidence in a man, whom they thought more interested than any other person on earth in the good order of affairs, seemed a very favourable omen of the reformation of the state.

But scarce had the duke appeared twice at council, when by his address and that of his friends, he became absolute master; he caused the duke of *Somerset* to be arrested even in the queen's chamber, and conducted immediately to the *Tower*. Then appearing in person before the parliament, to give an account of so bold an action, he vindicated the necessity of it with such force, that having drawn the whole house to espouse his interest, he was declared protector of the kingdom, and defender of the liberties of the church and state during the infancy of prince *Edward*, and till the time when he would be able to take upon him the charge of the government. A stroke so unforeseen threw the queen into a consternation that made her deliberate, if it was not safest for her to retire into *France* with the prince her son. But recovering soon from this dejection, she took counsel only from her

natural firmness, and resolved to hazard every thing to support her rights and to save her minister.

In the mean time, the parliament being entirely devoted to the new protector, revived the former accusations on which the duke of *Somerset* had been thrown into the *Tower* on his return from *Normandy*, and increased them by so many new complaints, that he could not long have preserved his head, if his trial had been pressed with as much eagerness as it was begun. But the duke of *York*, in his turn, suffered himself to be drawn into the same fault, for which his enemies had reproached *Somerset*. The lady *Nevill*, who was as noble in her sentiments, as she appeared irregular in her conduct, could not see a man whom she had loved so passionately in such danger, without interesting herself in the most lively manner in his behalf. Some historians even pretend, that she was stirred up by the queen, who demanded this proof of gratitude for her former favours. She had such an empire over the duke of *York*, that he was easily persuaded that it was beneath him to take such advantages to crush an unhappy man, whom fortune had sufficiently punished by his humiliation: What had he to fear from him while he continued in prison, and while by the authority with which the parliament had invested him, he was intitled to the respect and obedience of the whole nation. He yielded less to the force of these reasons, than to his weakness with respect to a woman, who was the sole object of his affections; and if he had any thing to struggle with, it was a pang of jealousy for the concern she still expressed for his rival. However, he stifled his inquietude so far, as to desire her to take upon herself the trouble of carrying this news to him in prison.

I shall not examine whether the queen was worthy of reproach, for so soon forgetting what she owed to the lady *Nevill*. It is common for ambition to overcome all the tender feelings of the heart, and sometimes to change gratitude for benefits, into shame for having received them. Scarce was she certain that *Somerset* was sheltered from danger, than she laid aside

the projects she had formed for saving him by violent measures ; and taking for her example the conduct of her enemies, who had so successfully made use of artifices, she hoped to supplant them the same way. She pretended to submit to the disposition of the parliament, which took the affairs of the public out of her hands : she appeared to confine herself to her care of the king, though nobody expected his recovery ; and to the education of her son, the only fruit of her marriage ; two concerns equally capable of employing a wife and a mother. During this time, she redoubled that respect and those carefesses, which she acknowledged she was under obligations to pay to the lady *Nevill* : and whether it was to secure her own honour, in obliging her to conceal the solicitations she had made for her favourite, or whether as she knew her to be sincere and credulous, it was to make use of her in other designs which she took care to conceal, she desired her to hide from the duke of *York* the deep concern she had shewn for *Somerset's* preservation. The people of *England* were persuaded that she was grown weary of the cares of government, and had in earnest given up all designs of interfering in public affairs, and even the duke himself began to be of this opinion. But having played this part as long as it was necessary for ripening her projects, she suddenly put in practice two of her schemes, each of which was attended with an equal success.

The one was to have the lady *Nevill* carried off secretly, by the intrigues of *Burchier* archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom she had employed to wait on the old earl of *Salisbury*, and to represent to him in the most lively manner, the injury he did his soul, and the stain he cast upon his honour, by winking at the behaviour of his daughter ; by this means his consent was obtained to have her shut up in a convent. Though this act of violence was so happily executed, and performed with such secrecy that the duke of *York* could not discover the place to which they had carried her ; yet as the queen's design was to put her entirely

out

out of the earl of *Salisbury's* favour, she did not fail to have her privately informed, that this confinement was brought upon her by her father; and that to prevent the possibility of his resolution being shaken by fear or friendship, he had chose to be ignorant even of the convent to which she was carried.

But before the duke could recover from the surprize and grief which he felt for this loss, he was informed, that he was to attend an extraordinary council which the king found that he himself was able to hold, and in which he had some important resolutions to discover for the good of the kingdom. The duke, from whom they had carefully concealed the news of the king's recovery, was persuaded that *Henry*, imagining his end was approaching, thought perhaps, for the last time to declare his affection for his people, and his intentions for the public good. But what was his surprize, when after having perceived that his face had the marks of returning health, he heard him tell those who were assembled in council, that the authority the parliament had conferred on the duke, being only founded on his inability to govern the state, occasioned by his long illness, it was at this moment at an end, by his having been so happy as to recover that strength of body and mind, which was necessary to enable him to discharge the duties of royalty!

The duke immediately perceived that this was only an artifice to get the government of the state into the queen's hands. But not having taken the measures necessary to enable him to dispute the king's right of depriving him of his authority, he was forced to give his approbation to so strange a revolution by his silence. The first effect of this change was, the earl of *Somerset's* being at liberty, and immediately recalled to court as it were in triumph; and the duke of *Buckingham*, the earl of *Wiltshire*, and two knights, having, according to the ancient custom of the country, offered themselves as his securities, they were immediately accepted; for as the duke had been arrested by an order of council, it was supposed, that he

he might be discharged by the same authority. This indeed was a capital mistake, for according to the laws of *England*, an impeachment by the commons deprives the king of the power of releasing a person before his being acquitted by a proper trial. However, the queen affected to begin by a bold stroke, that she might make her enemies imagine, that her measures were too infallible to give her the least apprehensions as to their success.

The queen however, observed some measures with respect to the duke of *York*; and the resentment she saw him still keep up for the loss of his mistress, making her already reckon on his breaking with the *Newills*, she thought him so little formidable without their assistance, that she employed several wise and well meaning lords to propose an accommodation between him and the duke of *Somerset*. It being the interest of both to gain the people by shewing that they were not actuated by ambitious views, they consented to chuse arbitrators, and to agree, that which soever refused to submit their judgment, should pay the other twenty thousand marks. But two incidents, of which one served as a colour for the mortal resentment each felt for the other, at last carried their hatred to the height, and drew them into those fatal resolutions which successively caused the ruin of both.

Of what nature soever were the queen's sensations for the duke of *Somerset*, it did not appear that he thought much of deserving them by the sincerity of his own, since he nourished in the bottom of his heart another love, which even ambition and the variety of his agitations could not extinguish. He had flattered himself while in prison, that the lady *Newill* interesting herself so warmly in the preservation of his life, proceeded from the remains of her affection for him; and when he had learnt from the queen in what convent the archbishop of *Canterbury* had ordered her to be confined, he hoped, that in secretly delivering her from a slavery, which he could not think voluntary, he should dispose her to give him her heart, from which he did not think himself entirely banished. If he could

could now no longer make her his wife, she might at least be his mistrels ; a title not new to her with regard to her living with him, than with the duke of York. Thus, under the pretence of visiting the frontier of Scotland, he took the road to the convent at *Saxhead*, situated in Northumberland ; and stealing away with a few faithful domestics, went to present himself at the gate of the convent.

Somerset, however, suffered one precaution to escape him, which had like for the present to have ruined his enterprize. The archbishop's orders, on presenting the lady *Nevill* to the abbess, were so strict, that she could not suffer her to be seen by any body ; so that *Somerset*, who was unwilling to make himself known, suffered a refusal against which he had nothing to object. However, having retired, without pressing the abbess to grant what he desired, he made haste to prepare an order signed with his own hand, with which he returned to the convent, as if he came by order from the minister ; when, upon admission by this artifice, he filled the lady *Nevill* with astonishment and joy, by informing her of the design which brought him thither. The desire of liberty had a greater share than love in making her consent to his proposal. She set out with him on a second order, which he presented to the abbess at his return from the frontier. He caused her to be conducted to his seat near *St. Albans* ; and more delighted with this triumph than with all those he had gained over his rival, he returned to *London*, after having first spent some days with her.

This action might have continued concealed, if, in the excess of his joy, he had behaved with more moderation ; but his perpetual excursions to *St. Albans*, the indiscretion of some persons whom he had intrusted with his secret, and perhaps that of the lady *Nevill* herself, who was not so closely united to him by love, as to feel much difference between this solitude and that of the convent she had left, brought some reports to the ears of the duke of York, which he endeavoured to search into ; and in proportion as his suspicions became

came more confirmed, his behaviour to his rival became more harsh and reserved : the proposed accommodation was suddenly broken off, and when he was put in mind of the twenty thousand marks which he had engaged to pay, he treated this proposal with terms of contempt.

He had taken the government of *Calais* from *Somerset*, while he kept him confined in the tower, and had enjoyed it himself by a patent expedited in the king's name. *Somerset*, exasperated in his turn at the contempt with which he thought himself treated, represented to the king, that he had been deprived of his government on a mere accusation that had never been brought to a trial ; and that it was not just that his enemy should continue cloathed with his spoils, while he refused to terminate their differences by umpires whom they had chosen in concert. On such just complaints the king took the government of *Calais* from the duke of *York*. However, under the pretence of observing a perfect neutrality between the two competitors, he declared himself governor of that place ; and even by the advice of *Somerset*, who was willing to humble his enemy without pushing him into extremities, he caused it to be inserted in the act which discharged the duke from his government, that he himself had interceded with the king in his favour. But these softenings could not satisfy a heart struck with a deeper wound. He complained of the king's conduct as insufferably injurious, and on this pretence suddenly left the court.

He resolved to seek a retreat in *Wales*; but in his way thither attempted to storm the duke of *Somerset*'s castle at the head of thirty friends, who were engaged in his interest. He had not turned his back till he had obtained his prey, if the vigilance of his rival had not prevented his being surprized. But *Somerset*, who never doubted a moment of the malignity of his temper, and was always apprehensive of meeting with some insult in his journeys thither, kept there a kind of garrison. The resistance was therefore as vigorous as the attack. The duke had the grief of losing some friends,

friends, who deserved to be engaged in a better cause ; and he himself escaped the pursuit of those he thought to surprize, only by the swiftness of his horse. But while he was oppressed with so many occasions of disgrace, he received an unexpected consolation in meeting the earl of *Salisbury*, who without being repulsed at the coldness with which he had treated him, since his losing the lady *Nevill*, came with his sons to profess their friendship, and offer him their services.

These brave men revived his courage, by promising to hazard every thing to gratify his revenge. They convinced him that while the queen and the duke of *Somerset* continued in possession of the king's person, they would have an advantage over him that could only be taken from them by violent measures. The conclusion they all in concert drew from this was, that they ought to take up arms, and that they had no need of any other pretence than the false steps the court had been guilty of in releasing the duke of *Somerset* from the tower, without taking the least care to give satisfaction to the people. This complaint, which they spread loudly abroad, caused such commotions in *Wales*, that in the space of three weeks they saw themselves at the head of a numerous army.

Somerset having made use of the same diligence in assembling the king's troops, they advanced on both sides with all the ardor that precedes the approach of great events. It seemed at first, as if the duke of *York* had thoughts of delivering the lady *Nevill*, since he made his army march towards *St. Albans*. The king's forces met him near that town, in so level a plain, that nothing seemed capable of delaying the engagement. However the duke, by the advice of the earl of *Salisbury*, offered once more to disband his army, on condition that the minister was delivered up to the justice of parliament. Their design in this was to convince the people, that it was their interest alone that had induced them to take the field. But the court perceiving that this was only a vain pretence, and that this quarrel must sooner or later be determined by force of

arms,

arms, were neither disposed to sacrifice the minister, nor receive laws from a rebel.

The earl of *Warwick*, who commanded the vanguard of the duke of *York*'s army, having received this answer, left the court neither time to come to more moderate resolutions, nor the duke of *York* the liberty of making new overtures ; but rushing on the enemy with all that impetuous vigour with which he had signalized himself in many exploits, he threw the royal army into a disorder, that all the duke of *Somerset*'s skill was unable to repair. The duke of *York* perceived of what importance it was for him to improve this first advantage ; and advancing to prevent the enemy's gaining time to recover from this confusion, he pressed them with such vigour, that he forced them to fly in less than an hour ; after having lost eight thousand men. Despair enabled *Somerset* to perform prodigies of valour : he received many wounds which only served to animate his courage ; and yielding at last to the fortune of his rival, he perished with his sword in his hand ; as did also the earl of *Northumberland*, the lord *Clifford*, and many other noblemen who were attached to the house of *Lancaster*.

The king himself was wounded in the neck with an arrow. His wound, which at first appeared very dangerous, and the rout of his army which he saw flying without having the power to stop them by his reproofs, forced him to retire to the castle of the unhappy *Somerset*, where he hoped still to defend himself, till his officers had time to rally his forces. But the duke of *York* having soon after invested this place, his victorious army were but little retarded by so weak an obstacle. He entered it in company with the earl of *Salisbury*, and causing himself to be conducted to the king, and bending the knee before him ; " Sir, said " he, the public enemy is dead, and you see none be- " fore you but faithful subjects, ready to obey you." Atlast, having caused the duke of *Somerset*'s body to be brought, he for a moment satisfied his eyes with looking on this spectacle ; but as if he had blushed at this cruel pleasure, he added, giving the corpse a kick,

that

that this was to assure the king, that the state had now no reason to be afraid of a wretch who had sought its ruin.

Though this speech might be capable of raising the king's courage, it cost the duke dear by the barbarous treatment it at last brought upon himself, and the effect it instantly produced in a heart that he did not imagine could be displeased with his revenge. While he protested to the king that he would be the most obedient of his subjects, and while this prince scarcely recovered from his fear assured him, in his turn, that he was ready to give him all the satisfaction he could desire, the lady *Nevill* learnt not only the news of *Somerset's* death, but also the insult with which the conqueror had just treated his unhappy remains. Whether she always believed, that she ought to give her tenderness with her compassion to the most unfortunate; or whether the habit she had resumed of living with her lover rendered her truly sensible of his loss, she did not wait to receive the duke's visit; but taking advantage of the confusion to slip from her own domestics, she fled to the queen, to whom she related all these melancholy events. There may also be reckoned among the motives to her flight, her fear of falling into her father's hands, whom she still suspected of giving the order by which she had been shut in the convent at *Saxhead*. But the sequel of her adventures will leave no room to doubt, that she only sought to avoid the duke of *York's* presence.

The news of the lady *Nevill's* escape poisoned all the fruits of his victory. However, the earl of *Salisbury* having represented how necessary his presence was in *London*, he carried the king thither with the design of making him immediately call a parliament. It is astonishing, that amidst the principles of cruelty which were in a manner established between the houses of *Lancaster* and *York* since the reign of *Henry IV.* he neglected this opportunity of setting the crown on his head, by making away with a prince whose life was in his hands. But besides his wound, which did not yet appear to be without danger, he knew him to be of such

such an unconfirmed health, as gave him hopes of his being soon delivered from him without violence; and every consideration led him to think, that this was the surest way of establishing himself on the throne. Besides, as he saw nothing that could oppose his authority, he might flatter himself, that while he waited for the king's death, there would be but little difference between the rank he should hold in the state, and that of sovereign authority. The parliament, who were composed of none but his creatures, began with publishing this declaration; that the government had been ill administered by the queen and the duke of *Somerset*, and that they had abused the confidence and goodness of the king; that the late duke of *Gloucester* had been unjustly accused, and so far from charging the duke of *York*, the earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and their followers, with being guilty of a crime in taking up arms against the king, they declared that the state was greatly obliged to them for delivering this prince from a hateful captivity. Afterwards, even by the consent of the king, who was now no more in a condition to follow his own opinion than when under the tutelage of the queen and the duke of *Somerset*, the duke of *York*, was named protector of the kingdom.

The queen had seen all these changes without shewing, by the least opposition, that she had thoughts of interrupting his triumph. She was left at *Greenwich* almost alone, while the king and *Somerset* were at the head of the army: their troops, which had been dispersed after the battle of *St. Albans*, had found no body who had dared to rally them; and the consternation she was in at the loss of her favourite, was alone sufficient to render her in a manner insensible to every thing that passed about her. The witnesses of her sorrow have never declared of what nature it was; but if any judgment may be formed from the strength of her passions, it was of the most violent kind. She continued for some days buried in thought. The arrival of the lady *Nevill* was some consolation, when she found that she too was agitated with the same torments; and

and the hope she suddenly conceived of making her the instrument of her revenge, hindered her from examining whether decency was not violated by her sheltering a lady, who had dishonoured herself by so many scandalous adventures. But on what could she found her enterprizes in a deserted court, where there was nobody in whom she could place her confidence? It was nevertheless, time to stop an enemy, who enjoyed all the advantages he had gained by arms: and to confirm him in their possession by the least delay, was to render the evil irreparable. The remains of that confidence which the friends of the house of *Lancaster* had in her dexterity, brought to her aid in this conjuncture, the new duke of *Somerset*, son to him whose loss she so bitterly lamented, and the duke of *Buckingham* who wept for a son slain in the same battle. They opened their minds to her. She received this succour as a favour from heaven; and all the warmth of those passions that had preyed upon her mind, was exerted for the execution of a thousand new projects, which she formed in concert with them.

The duke of *York* lived in a state of security that filled his very enemies with astonishment. Having imagined that it would be running too great a hazard to lay an open claim to a crown, that had been for fifty-six years in the possession of the house of *Lancaster*, he was resolved to wait till the time when the king's death should give him an opportunity of making good his pretensions. Above all things he desired to gain the favour of the people, without which he was persuaded that his power would never be solidly established. Thus, to shew that passion and interest had no share in his designs, he left the king and queen so much the more liberty, as being invested with the dignity of protector, which he was to enjoy till he was deprived of it by parliament, he did not think that it could ever be in their power to strip him of it a second time. But it was from this security, of which he had already been the dupe, that the queen resolved still to seek his destruction. One could scarcely regard so many changes
of

of fortune as real events, were they not drawn from the pure sources of history.

By the assistance of some powerful cordials, the queen procured the king a sufficient degree of strength and complexion to enable him to be carried to the house of lords. He there declared, as he had done in council in the same circumstances, that heaven having restored him the health necessary to discharge the functions of the royal dignity, he was determined to engage again in the fatigues of government, and that he thanked the duke of *York* for his having discharged, during his sickness, such a painful burthen. It is surprizing, that at this declaration, there was no body who had the courage to stand up in behalf of the duke: but this was the principal effect of the queen's measures. A moment before the king appeared in the assembly, she had caused a report to be spread, that the duke and his most faithful partisans were going to be seized. It was added, that the places adjoining to the house of lords were filled with men in arms, who were to appear upon the first signal; and that to support them in case of resistance, the queen had caused a body of troops to march into the villages near *London*. The duke, terrified at the suddenness of his danger, and his being without the power of making resistance, chose to retire secretly, and with the utmost diligence get to *York*. The earl of *Salisbury*, who a little before had been made high chancellor, and whose duty it was in this character to attend upon the king, departed with equal haste to reach his estate. The earl of *Warwick* set off for *Calais*, of which he had a little before been made governor. In short, all the duke's most intimate friends, hurried away by the same fear, thought of nothing but of securing their safety by flight.

It was never doubted but that the queen's desire of revenge would have made her really seize the persons of the duke and the two earls, if they had made a much longer stay in *London*: However, not imagining that they would be so easily seized with fear, her design

sign in spreading the rumours that had filled them with such terror, was only to open a more easy way to the success of her first project. But nothing appeared to her to be difficult after so happy a beginning. She persuaded herself that minds so easily put in motion by a groundless pannic, would be still more easily deceived by raising their hopes. As their party was too numerous in *London* to promise her all the favour she would have occasion for in that city, she made a pretence for repairing with the king to *Coventry*, from whence she sent letters under the king's own hand, to the duke of *York* and his principal friends; in which the king expressed much astonishment at their retreat, with a strong desire of seeing them about his person, in order to establish in the state, by their advice, a form of administration that might rectify all past disorders. The queen was resolved to have them all seized together; and to reject that timidity in her councils, which had formerly prevented the duke's being brought to his trial. They had not the least distrust of an invitation under the hand and seal of the king. But having been informed on the road that small companies of soldiers were marching towards *Coventry*, and that other extraordinary preparations were making there, they made haste to take another road, at the same time adding this instance of treachery to their other motives of resentment. The duke of *York* retired to his castle at *Wigmore* in the extremity of *Wales*, the earl of *Salisbury* to his estate at *Middleham* in *Yorkshire*, and the earl of *Warwick* returned to his government of *Calais*.

All their thoughts turned on the revenging so many injuries. They were employing themselves in raising forces, which they hoped easily to unite, when the king of *Scotland* entered *Northumberland* at the head of a puissant army, and spread desolation through that country. The earl of *Salisbury* had the prudence to foresee all the advantages the duke of *York* might draw from this incident. He advised him to hasten his levies, and to employ all his troops against the *Scots*. This was both to justify the part he had taken

in raising an army, and to acquire the right of making another use of it, by the new merit such an important service would give him in the eyes of the public. This policy was the earl of *Salisbury*'s master-piece. The *Scots* having retired at the very approach of the duke, the king, who had been so much the more terrified at their invasion, as the *French* had at the same time made a descent on the coast of *Kent*, thought himself so much obliged to the duke of *York* for the zeal with which he had served him, that without consulting the queen and the new ministers, he wrote to him in terms that expressed the most lively gratitude, and pressed him to come with all his friends to receive other testimonies of it at court. Their forces, which they took care to distribute in different places, doubtless inspired them with that confidence with which they trusted to the royal word. The duke repaired to *London*, accompanied by the earl of *Salisbury* and a number of other friends, who were soon followed by the earl of *Warwick* who came from *Calais* to join them. The marks of their reconciliation were so singular, that they assisted at all the councils, and swore there to be eternally united to the king for the defence of *England*.

But the terms of this oath were equivocal; nor could it be sincere while they affected to behave as if they had forgot the queen, who had such a share in the government, and to despise *Somerset* and *Buckingham* her new ministers. They made an ill use of the king's weakness, in order to gain more effectually the affections of the people; at a time when the service they had just performed assured them of so much of the public favour, as made the queen afraid of shewing any marks of resentment. But if opportunities of revenge were too long before they offered themselves, she had a mind capable of forming sufficient expedients in order to create them. From that solitude in which she lived at *Greenwich*, where she in a manner kept herself under covert to observe the conduct of her enemies, she penetrated into their designs by the eyes of *Somerset*, who had never been excluded from the coun-

cil;

cil; for though this nobleman had a mind less firm, and less enterprizing than his father, yet he had more art and a greater capacity. The queen learnt from him, that the duke of *York* proposed to set out with the earl of *Salisbury* for *Yorkshire*; and that the earl of *Warwick*, who had been created lord high admiral of *England*, at the same time that he obtained the government of *Calais*, had sent orders for some men of war to assemble at *Sandwich*, where he proposed to join them. These new dispositions seemed to conceal some important project; which as she was unable to dive into, she resolved to prevent by a stroke that would effectually disconcert her enemies.

She suffered the duke and the old earl to depart peaceably, on the assurances she received from her emissaries, that the earl of *Warwick* was to stay some time longer in *London*; when by means of some domestics in the king's livery, who were hired to quarrel with the earl's servants, as he was passing in the neighbourhood of *Westminster*, she brought him to engage with such warmth in the fray, that the king's guards being brought down upon him, he had no other way to avoid being killed or taken, than to throw himself into a boat, which carried him a-cross the river; and being at the same time informed, that the king had given orders for his being arrested, and carried to the *Tower*, he did not doubt but that this was a plot laid by the queen to take away his life. The resolutions he afterwards took on this occasion in concert with the duke of *York* and his father, tending only to the beginning of a war, it seemed as if the queen had precipitated herself into embarrassments that were very contrary to her views. But after having found her scheme of arresting the earl brought to nothing by the heat of her men, she could think of no other but that of engaging him with the duke of *York*, and all his partisans in a new revolt, to let the public know what confidence they ought to place in their oaths, and at the same time, to subdue them by the vigour of her measures.

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The earl's boldness in drawing his sword against persons belonging to the king's household, was a sufficient pretence for taking from him his government of *Calais*, which was immediately given to the duke of *Somerset*. But as he had received it from the parliament, he refused to send back his patent, on a mere order under the privy seal ; and as he had assembled a fleet, he made haste to join it, in order to reach *Calais*. The first effects of the vexation produced by this adventure, fell on some vessels from *Hamburg* and *Lubec*, which he met in the channel, and plundered of their lading, which amounted to above ten thousand pounds sterling, a considerable sum at that time, and of prodigious use to the earl at the eve of a war that appeared inevitable. But on the complaints which the *Hamburgers* made at the court of *London*, the queen took occasion from an action so contrary to all laws, to deprive him of the office of high admiral, which he could not refuse giving up on any pretence, because he held it in the king's name. *Rapin* in his history of *England* has confounded the order of all these events.





THE
HISTORY
OF
MARGARET of ANJOU.

PART II.

MARGARET seemed to triumph, and trusting to the order she had given the duke of Buckingham to re-assemble the troops, resolved to take a circuit with the king through several counties; not so much to do honour to this prince, as by an insinuating behaviour to secure the esteem and affections of the people to herself. She was wonderfully skilled in the art of gaining hearts, and her authority would have been much better established by exerting this skill, if her pride had not made her consider it as an expedient which was very much beneath her. However, after so many efforts made by her enemies to attract the favour of the public, she thought herself obliged to make use of the same means; and her attempt succeeded so well, that many historians attribute to her a design of taking advantage of the good disposition which she had produced in the people of several coun-

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ties, in order to make herself absolute mistress of the royal authority, by persuading her husband to abdicate the throne, and to resign all his power into her hands till prince *Edward* became of age. But all the disregard with which *Henry* looked upon earthly grandeur, could not make him consent to this proposal.

People began to imagine from the vigour with which this princess resumed the administration, that the duke of *York* was entirely ruined, when a rumour was spread, that the earl of *Salisbury* was advancing with an army to demand justice of the king for the murder of his son, and the infraction of an act of oblivion that had been solemnly made in council. The court was stopped in a journey to *Coleshill* in *Warwickshire*; and the earl's approach caused so much the more consternation, from their being at the same time informed, that the duke of *York* was raising a powerful army in *Wales*. But the queen, trusting to the orders she had left with her ministers, only dispatched a messenger to the duke of *Somerset*, with orders to send immediately ten thousand men under the command of the lord *Audley*. This general was ordered to give no quarters to the earl and his forces, whose number amounted only to five or six thousand men. But in this, the queen promised herself too great an advantage over an enemy so justly celebrated for his prudence and valour. Though he was so inferior in point of numbers, fear could not make him draw back; he therefore employed a stratagem to obtain a victory, that could not be hoped for by any other means. *Audley* having formed his camp on the banks of a small river, his enemy posted himself on the opposite bank, as if his design had been only to guard this passage to secure himself from being attacked; but at last, pretending suddenly to repent of this boldness, he retired during the night, contriving his march in such a manner, that at break of day the enemy might still see his rear-guard. This retreat seemed so precipitate, that the king's troops instantly flattered themselves, that they had nothing to do but to run to the victory. They therefore crossed the river in disorder; but while they were in this confusion,

fusion, the earl of *Salisbury* turned about, and falling upon those who had already passed it, before they had time to put themselves in order of battle, he drove them upon those who were still crossing the water, and obtained a victory with as much certainty as glory. The king in this engagement lost three thousand men, with the general and all the principal officers.

There would have been too much danger in the earl of *Salisbury*'s proceeding farther, while the duke of *Somerset* himself was advancing with a numerous army. He was well satisfied with having opened a passage to join the duke of *York*, who still continued levying soldiers in *Wales*; and being both resolved to make a last effort to resist the storm that was gathered over their heads, they pressed the earl of *Warwick* to cross the channel, with all the forces he could draw from the garrison of *Calais*. The distance between them did not prevent the earl's joining them, in company with Sir Andrew *Trollop*, who had acquired great reputation in the wars of *France*, and who commanded a detachment under him. But the queen placing her confidence in the superiority of her forces, made them march to *Gloucester*, and by *Somerset*'s advice, found means to cause a proclamation from the king to be dispersed in the enemy's camp, promising a pardon to all who belonged to the rebel lords, on the sole condition of their immediately laying down their arms. This artifice produced a surprizing effect; for the duke's army imagining that the advantage of numbers rendered the king already sure of victory, thought of nothing but taking the benefit of the pardon, by flying in whole companies; and even *Trollop*, who had been told by the earl of *Warwick* that he was to fight against his master, completed the disorder, by going in the night to the king's camp with the body under his command. So unforeseen a desertion threw the chiefs into a consternation, that would suffer them to think of nothing but flight. The duke of *York* therefore embarked for *Ireland*, while the earls of *Salisbury* and

Warwick retired to Calais, with the earl of March who was then nineteen years of age.

The duke of York did not take this step from the sole view of re-establishing his affairs in Ireland; but was particularly drawn thither by the thoughts of following the lady Nevill, who in the embarrassment into which she had been thrown by the queen's proposals, chose rather to fly from the court, than to preserve her favour at the price she had set upon it. This princess, in approving the earl of Somerset's advice, had taken occasion from the first success of this artifice to form another design, from which she hoped to receive much more important advantages; and, she had kept the lady Nevill near her, in order to engage her in some enterprize of this nature. Having no doubt of her still preserving the power she formerly had over the duke of York, she proposed her going in the night to a village at a small distance from his camp, when she was to send him word, that she was come thither to obtain once more the satisfaction of seeing him. What she was to say or do for him in this interview, was left to her own choice; because the queen rightly imagining, that he would not cause himself to be attended by a considerable body of men in a party of love, proposed to have him carried away by the flower of her cavalry, whose officers she had already engaged in this enterprize. The lady Nevill, who notwithstanding her frailty had the noblest sentiments of honour, secretly contemned so vile a commission, and though she now felt but little inclination for the duke, she could not hear without indignation, their proposing to make her betray a man whom she had once loved. But not daring openly to reject proposals, accompanied with as many menaces as promises; she pretended to comply, at the same time resolving to inform the duke of the danger with which he was threatened, and in short, to seek a retreat, where she should no longer be exposed to so many adventures, of which she now began to be weary. She therefore caused herself to be conducted to the village appointed by the queen; but instead

instead of inviting the duke to come thither, she informed him, that if he had any regard for his life, he ought to quit the camp immediately.

However, as the duke of *York* could not receive this letter without learning from the messenger, that the lady *Nevill* was at a village at a small distance, he sent thither two of his most faithful officers, as much to engage her to suffer herself to be conducted to his camp, as to draw from her the particulars of a secret that she had only communicated to him by halves. These gentlemen found as much ease in getting an opportunity to discourse with her, as they could have wished : but after having informed her by their offers, that they were disposed to serve her with the utmost zeal, she desired them to conduct her to a neighbouring port, and at the same time persuaded them to believe, that the duke would not forget their doing her such an important piece of service. The orders the king's officers had received to pay her an implicit obedience, removed all the obstacles that were capable of inspiring her with fear. She intended, perhaps, to set sail for *Ireland*, where she had lived long enough to accustom herself to the manners of the country ; and it is not to be doubted, but that she acquainted her guides with this resolution, since they brought this intelligence to the duke of *York*. But filled with the apprehensions that caused her flight, she stepped into the first vessel she found ready to sail, which happened to be one of those which the earl of *Warwick* had brought from *Calais*, and that which had received orders to be held in readiness for the young earl of *March*, if the fortune of arms should be against his father. That night being the same in which Sir *Andrew Trollop* had chose to go over to the king's party, it was also that in which the earl of *March*, accompanied by the earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, were forced to go on board, in order to return to *Calais*; so that these three lords entered the vessel almost at the same moment as the lady *Nevill*, and at the very time when she was enquiring of the captain to what port he was bound, a

circumstance of which he was still unable to satisfy her.

Amidst the hurry they were in to put to sea, she heard the names of the two earls, at which she was seized with as much fear as surprize, without being able to procure the means of leaving the vessel. She could not defer till the next day the sight of her father, who being informed that a lady of great beauty was the partner of his voyage, was in haste to offer her his services. But this lady after so many adventures, did not want the address necessary to carry her through the greatest difficulties; she received her father's visit with as much tranquillity as if she had been prepared to see him; and having thrown herself at his feet, made use of her confidence in his paternal affection to beg an asylum, which she could not hope to obtain in *England*, since she had brought herself into disgrace with the queen by serving the duke of *York* and his party. This was the readiest way to gain upon the generous old man in the most sensible manner. He forgot the just resentment he had felt on account of his daughter's conduct, and made her explain in what it was that she had offended the queen. The lady *Ne-will* giving him all the particulars of this truth, of which she did not omit a single circumstance, easily obtained his pardon in consideration of so great an action. But he was willing to know what discoveries she had made of the queen's designs from the familiarity in which she had lived with her, and this curiosity plunged her again into other difficulties.

If the reader has followed all the circumstances of her conduct, he must have found her character so extraordinary as to have justly deserved the attention of historians, and the admiration she had obtained from her own country: It is a fantastical mixture of virtues and vices, that appear the least fit for being united; for she had all the nobleness, the rectitude, and the generosity of an illustrious rank, with the irregular inclinations and the corruption of manners that render women despicable even amongst the vulgar.

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She for a long time resisted all the influence of paternal authority ; and the only confession the earl was capable of drawing from her was, that the queen had sworn to accomplish the duke of York's destruction, and that the reasons of state with which she coloured her hatred, were only used as a cloak to cover her personal resentment. It seems that she must have penetrated much farther into the secrets of the minister, since adding her advice to this declaration, she pressed her father to oppose any design the duke might form of returning to *England* ; and without suffering herself to be moved either by entreaties or threatenings, she steadily refused to betray the queen and the duke of *Somerset*.

However, the conduct of the conquerors threw some light on what was expressed with such obscurity. The queen being returned to *London* as in triumph, called a parliament, and fearing but little resistance while at the head of the army, she caused the duke of York and his principal adherents to be declared enemies to the state, and guilty of high treason : by the same sentence all their estates were confiscated ; and this rigour was extended to their children, who were declared incapable of possessing any public employment till the fourth generation. The duke of *Exeter* was invested with the post of lord high admiral, which had not been yet filled up ; and while he was regulating the navy, the duke of *Somerset* received orders to go and take possession of his government of *Calais*. In reality, they were too easily persuaded that the earl of *Warwick* would surrender this place ; or at least being almost without a garrison he would not be capable of making a long resistance ; but the valour of his officers supplying the want of numbers, the duke of *Somerset* was obliged to retire to *Guienne*, to gain time to augment his forces. The queen immediately caused several vessels to be equipped at *Sandwich*, under the command of Sir *Simon Manford* ; but the earl of *Warwick* sailing out in his own vessels, took them by surprize, while they were yet in the port ; and at a time when it was least expected, made all the off-

cers prisoners, and carried them with him to *Calais*, where the earl of *March* caused twelve of them to be executed, by way of reprisal for some executions equally bloody, caused by the queen after the battle of *Ludlow*.

Tho' the earl of *Salisbury* had drawn only imperfect hints from his daughter, they were yet sufficient to make him judge, that the duke of *York's* liberty and life were in danger of being taken away by some treachery; and having from these apprehensions advised him not to leave *Ireland*, he formed a most fatal design for the ruin of the queen's projects. The county of *Kent* having discovered from the beginning of the war a remarkable zeal for the house of *York*, he did not question but the tame fire might be easily rekindled; especially in the present juncture, when the court was making there a rigorous search after the principal persons concerned in the last revolt. *Falcondridge*, whom he sent thither from *Calais*, having confirmed him in this hope, he intrusted him with dispersing a manifesto, in which he called heaven to witness, his sole motive in taking up arms was to deliver the poor people from the oppression under which they groaned, and to secure their liberties and privileges. Thus, without naming the duke of *York*, because he was sure of those of his party, he engaged in his interest even those who had the least inclination to seek the ruin of the house of *Lancaster*. With the numerous army which he hoped to raise by this means, he resolved to march directly to *London*, where his friends would not fail to make him master of the city, and at last to fall upon the court, which was without defence at *Coventry*, to snatch the sceptre from the king's hand, and present it to the duke of *York*, who should then be recalled from *Ireland*.

So vast a project could not be formed by two men more capable of putting it in execution. The earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, who left *Calais* with fifteen hundred soldiers, found themselves at the head of forty thousand at their arrival at the gates of *London*, which were opened to them by the inhabitants,

who

who were disposed to receive them. The archbishop of *Canterbury*, the bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and many others, declared in their favour; nor did they find any opposition except from the lord *Seales*, governor of the tower, who arriving at the same time with some troops threatened to demolish the city with his cannon. They were guilty of a mistake in suffering themselves to be amused by his fallies, and that was the only fault they could be charged with. *Seales* was desirous of giving the royal army time to assemble. The duke of *Somerset*, who was just returned from *Guienne*, and the duke of *Buckingham*, were named to be at the head of the forces. or rather, the queen herself was the sole commander, since notwithstanding the king's being present, nothing was done without her orders. She advanced towards the malecontents as far as *Northampton*, where she encamped in a plain, with a small river on her back, which she had hastily passed for fear the enemy should make use of this barrier to retard the combat.

The young earl of *March*, who was at the head of his party, had no sooner learnt that the time they had spent in *London* had given the king leisure to assemble his forces, than he entreated the earl of *Salisbury* to stay in the city to make head against the lord *Seales*, while he went to meet the enemy with the earl of *Warwick* and the lord *Cobham*, who were to act as Lieutenant Generals. It was of great importance for this prince to appear with this mark of distinction, in a party which he hoped one day to govern.

However, the earl of *Warwick*, who had all the care of the command, pressed his march with such vigour, that he joined the king's army at *Northampton*. Having fixed his camp at a small distance, he put in practice his father's dissimulation, by sending the bishop of *Salisbury* to make some vague proposals to the king which were not heard. He pretended, however, not to be discouraged; and rallying the bishop on the ill success of his commission, sent in his room a herald to demand permission to go and make his humble remonstrances to the king. But this second

messenger having been rejected with much disdain, the earl, piqued in his turn, sent him a third time with this blunt declaration, that he would have the honour of speaking to the king before the clock had struck four, or would be laid breathless on the field of battle.

This menace was regarded as a signal for the engagement. *Rapin* has collected with much care the principal circumstances of this memorable battle, in describing which I shall partly make use of his words. On the 19th of July, 1460, says this historian, the army under the command of the lords, advanced towards that commanded by the king. The earl of *Warwick* commanded the right wing, the lord *Cobham* the left, and the earl of *March* the centre. The dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham* were at the head of the royal army, while the queen kept at some distance to observe the event and distribute her orders; but the king stayed in his tent waiting the success of a battle, which to all appearance would secure his possession of the crown, or deprive him of it for ever. The battle was not begun till two in the afternoon, the lords having first published throughout the army, that they had made it an inviolable law, that no injury should be done to the king, that the common soldiers should be spared, and the officers only put to the sword. An *English* historian pretends, that this last order, which was perfectly understood, was levelled against the dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, for whom the earl of *Warwick* had a personal hatred. They fought for two * hours with such fury, that the field of battle was covered with the dead. At last the lord *Grey*, who commanded a considerable body of the royal army, suddenly went over to the malecontents. This unforeseen desertion sunk the courage of the royal troops; they began by little and little to give way, and the river they had on their backs opposing their passage, there were a great number drowned.

* Some historians say five hours.

drowned, while the others were cut in pieces in so cruel a manner, that ten thousand of them were slain: the duke of *Buckingham*, the earl of *Surrey* son to the famous *Talbot*, the lord *Beaumont*, and many other persons of distinction, were killed on the spot.

What a subject of consternation for the queen! but this was only the prelude to her misfortunes. She fled with the young prince of *Wales* and the duke of *Somerset*. She was uncertain where to chuse her retreat; and with a mind distracted by the fear of being delivered up to her enemies, she at last determined to take the road to *Durham*. While she was using all possible measures to save herself, *Henry*, who had never left his tent, was taken by the earl of *Warwick*, who conducted him to *Northampton*, and from thence to *London*. In a state that would have appeared more worthy of pity, if the natural weakness of his understanding had not rendered him in a manner insensible both to good and bad fortune. The earl of *Salisbury*, who saw part of his projects executed by his son, sent immediately to *Ireland*, to invite the duke of *York* to come and take possession of the crown. The time necessarily taken up by the duke in coming, was employed in calling a parliament; and in this interval, the conquerors made use of the royal authority in every thing that was found agreeable to their interests.

It seemed, indeed, as if the duke of *York* had nothing to do but to appear, in order to gather all the fruits of his victory. However, whether it was that he was stopped by some political reasons that still obliged him to act with moderation, or whether he did not find the parliament disposed to second his desires, he did not make all the use he might have done of the success of his arms. Having entered the house of lords who were already assembled, he placed himself near the throne, as if he waited for them to desire him to ascend it. But like *Julius Cæsar*, he had the mortification to perceive a silence that froze his courage; and the archbishop of *Canterbury* encreased his confu-

sion,

sion, by asking if he had saluted the king since his arrival. His colour at this question betrayed him ; he answered the prelate, that he knew no person to whom that honour was due ; and leaving the house with visible marks of deep dissatisfaction, went home, and from thence sent to the lords a writing that contained his pretensions, and the reasons on which he thought they were supported. It appears astonishing that the earl of *Salisbury* and the other chiefs of the same faction were not tempted to make a motion that the duke should be desired to seat himself on the throne. But it is probable that he chose to owe this honour to the free suffrages of the nation, and that his partisans had received his orders on the occasion. However, the two houses were not so favourable to him as he had imagined they would be. At the same time that they acknowledged his incontestible right to the crown, they decreed by a solemn act, that he should not obtain it till after *Henry's* death, and that this prince should remain, during the rest of his life, in the possession of the rank he now enjoyed. This was nevertheless a formal exclusion of the house of *Lancaster*; it was depriving the queen and the prince of *Wales*, of all share in the government; and, in short, delivering the king into the hands of the duke, and with him all the royal authority. He appeared satisfied with this regulation, because nothing but open force could enable him to obtain more ; if he had any thing still to wish for, it was to see himself delivered from such a dangerous enemy as the queen. As he was not ignorant of her having retired to *Durham*, he caused an order to be sent from the king, commanding her to return to court : indeed he had no hopes of finding her so submissive, as to come and deliver herself into his hands ; but he was satisfied with making her appear guilty of a crime in the opinion of the whole nation, by refusing to obey her husband ; and he even flattered himself, that being, as he imagined, incapable of forming the least enterprize, she would be forced to abandon *England*, to seek a place of retreat for herself and her son.

Hitherto Margaret's great abilities have appeared in a manner obscured by the assistance she received from her ministers. While she was aided by the knowledge and penetration of a *Suffolk*, and the boldness of the first *Somerset*, nothing more was necessary than the ambition of governing with glory, and rendering herself feared and respected by her proudest enemies: but in the state to which she was reduced after the battle of *Northampton*, she had no resource but the fortitude of her own mind: she was accompanied in her flight with no more than eight persons, who were rather domestics than either counsellors or friends. The duke of *Somerset* by her order went to *France* to sollicit assistance, which however there was little probability of obtaining, on account of the recent death of king *Charles*, who had just perished of hunger, through the dread of being poisoned by the dauphin. She had reason to be in continual fear of the citizens of *Durham*, whose respect appeared to be forced, and who valued at too high a rate the danger to which they exposed themselves by allowing her this place of retreat. She was without money, without arms, without any friends, from whom she might hope to receive some favourable proposals, in short without the least appearance of advice and assistance. In this grievous situation she received orders to return to *London*. Her concern for her own glory, her tenderness for her son, the hatred she bore her enemies, and the sense of her situation, roused all the dignity of her soul, and made her undertake what she durst not have flattered herself within her most happy times of authority and power. But if we have few instances of women succeeding in heroic attempts, we have much fewer of a queen involved in the sad adventures which her designs brought on; and this variety of events is so interesting, that if I did not scrupulously confine myself to the authority of historians, I should be suspected of transforming one of the most serious parts of history into a romance.

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After having searched her memory in order to recall the names of all who had made any figure in the war, and those who had particularly interfered in the quarrel of the royal house, the queen remembered that the lords *Ross* and *Clifford* had each of them a father to revenge. They had both lost them at the end of a battle, when the lives of these two lords might have been spared, because their death was no addition to the advantages of the victory. *Margaret* did not doubt but that so just a cause of resentment could not but subsist in the hearts of the children. They had considerable estates in the North of *England*; and their vassals expressed the duty of soldiers on whom they might entirely depend. She therefore privately left *Durham* to follow this first ray of hope, after having caused a report to be spread that she was disposed to go over to *France*. Her journey was not so long as it was difficult; for she was obliged to travel in the night more frequently than in the day, and sometimes to suffer the want of all kinds of conveniences. In her way she accidentally fell into a house that once belonged to one of the twelve officers, who had lost their heads at *Cahais* by order of the earl of *March*, and there found his children filled with such zeal to revenge their father, that immediately taking advantage of this opportunity, she ordered them to assemble all the relations and friends of those who suffered the same indignity, and to conduct them to the lord *Clifford's* seat to which she designed to repair.

This nobleman entered immediately into all the queen's views, and thought himself honoured by the preference she gave him in the choice of her defenders. His friends and vassals were inflamed with the same zeal. He took upon himself the commission of gaining over the lord *Ross*, and the earl of *Devonshire*, who took a pride in shewing equal warmth and activity. In the space of eight days the queen had a body of ten thousand men well armed. The arrival of those she had engaged on the road, having increased the number by the addition of five hundred men, of whom

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whom the greatest part were above the condition of common soldiers, she raised those who were capable of doing her most service to the rank of officers, and attached them to her as much by her flattery and caresses, as from the common interest by which they were united. They could not be influenced by the hopes of a reward, at a time when she herself subsisted on the generosity of the lords for the very means of life. But to gain those that were incapable of being led by such disinterested motives, she made use of another artifice, which was more successful than she could reasonably have hoped. This was to promise them the plunder of all the estates belonging to the duke of *York* and the lords of his party, which they should meet with in their march. This promise raised her an army in a few days. Thus she found herself at the head of twenty-five thousand men, who had assembled from all the neighbouring counties before the duke of *York* and his friends had the least suspicion of the storm which threatened them.

The duke thought the queen in *France*, and though he had wished for her departure, as the only means that could procure him the peaceful enjoyment of all his advantages, he had for some time regretted her having escaped the effects of his revenge. The lady *Nevill*, by being re-established in her father's favour, had lost all thoughts of the retreat for which she had left her country, and being recalled to *London* by the disgrace of the queen, whose resentment no longer seemed capable of giving her disturbance, she could not resist the ambition of acknowledging the first man in the state for her lover. The duke being attach'd to her with fresh ardour, his entreaties had a greater effect upon her than those of her father, and even the queen's distance seemed to remove the scruples that had prevented her betraying her. In short, in the conversation she had with him on the adventure of *Ludlow*, she not only discovered the hazard he had run in recovering his liberty; but also congratulating him on having followed her father's advice which had kept

kept him in *Ireland*, she informed him that both the queen and the young duke of *Somerset* had sworn to take away his life. Though the lady *Nevill* could not approve this oath, yet as they believed her filled with the same desires of revenging the death of *Somerset's* father, she found herself obliged to enter into their plot, which was to be executed in the most bloody manner; for the queen proposed, that after having taken the duke, he should be secretly conducted to the castle, where her favourite had been interred after the battle of *St. Alban's*, and there sacrificed on his tomb.

The lady *Nevill*, in giving this recital to the duke of *York*, protested, that she had only pretended to relish the queen's dreadful project, in order to make it the more easy for her to save him; and the service she had rendered him while he was at *Ludlow* was an uncontrollable proof of her sincerity; but the duke from this account conceived such a horror for his enemy, that he could not forgive himself, for having left her in tranquillity at *Durham*, and having in a manner opened a way for her to save herself in *France*. These were his dispositions, when he was informed of the danger he was in from a woman of so implacable a temper. The powerful army under her command seemed to have been raised out of nothing: besides, he had already disbanded his forces, and the heroic earl of *Warwick* was lately gone to his government of *Calais*.

However, the earl of *Salisbury* got together five thousand men with as much diligence as possible; and giving the duke, who put himself at their head, the benefit of their experience, they advanced together as far as *Wakefield*, where the queen's army was encamped. Their resentment was changed into fury at the news of an infinite number of disorders which the enemy had committed on their estates, and on those of their friends; and a regular war was less expected than the most frightful excesses, to which the two parties were capable of being carried by their hatred.

In the mean while the duke learnt that the queen's army was daily increasing, and having no hopes of obtaining any other troops besides those he expected from *Wales*, which he did not imagine would come time enough to satisfy the ardour for which he longed for a battle at his arrival at *Wakefield*; he found that he was obliged, by the inequality of numbers, and the necessity of covering his army with some intrenchments, to shut himself up in *Sandal* castle, which belonged to him, and which could not be easily forced without artillery. He was there immediately invested by the queen: but when she had observed the situation of the place, she despaired of carrying it by a regular attack, and therefore fixing her camp in the plain, she resolved to starve the enemy by blocking up all the passages, which would be attended with no other inconvenience than suspending the more violent effects of her hatred: but she still found the means of gratifying her enmity by bidding him defiance, and by the menaces she continually sent him, reproaching him, that he who aspired to the crown could have the cowardice to suffer himself to be shut up by a woman. The duke had hitherto behaved with much prudence and conduct; but being hurried away by his resentment, he no longer kept within these bounds. These reproaches were made in writing, and he answered them by the most injurious accusations; he charged the queen with adultery and incest in her commerce with the two *Somersets*; and painting her as a monster of incontinence and ambition, he gloried in his being called by heaven to punish her for her crimes. Thus they irritated each other for eight days, and if the earl of *Salisbury* had not kept back the duke almost by force, he would a thousand times have run to his revenge, in spite of every danger, and without the least regard to the number of his enemies.

The queen, who kept him too close shut up to fear his escaping her, already enjoyed the pleasure of seeing her victim in her hands, and employed herself in meditating on the manner of his punishment. Nevertheless, such dilatory proceedings would have exposed

posed her to the danger of a reverse of fortune, if the duke could have had the patience to wait for the earl of *March*, his son, who had already raised twenty three thousand men, and was making long marches in order to set him at liberty ; but imagining that the queen, by dividing her forces with a view to cut off his provisions, had left about her person a corps that did not exceed his own, he flattered himself, that by falling upon her he should have time to defeat them entirely, and to kill her, or take her prisoner, before she could be joined by the other parts of the army. And all the counsels of the earl of *Salisbury* were incapable of making him lay aside this thought,

He was not deceived in thinking the queen but ill attended, but he did not know that this was an artifice she had made use of to draw him out of his walls : she had posted five thousand men behind a hill that concealed them from being seen at the castle : but scarce was the duke advanced into the plain when he saw his error : yet he had still time to repair it, by hastening back ; but the shame of flying, and the hope of supplying the want of numbers in his army by his experience and courage, made him resolutely stand the first attack of the enemy ; he even obtained some advantage, and receiving with not less firmness the five thousand, who also rushed upon him, he sustained them for some moments without loss and without disorder ; but being at length overpowered by numbers, his troops were cut in pieces, and he himself died fighting with astonishing bravery, and the earl of *Salisbury*, after being dangerously wounded, was taken prisoner,

So glorious a death deprived the queen of the most desirable part of her revenge : however, her friends supplied it by an action which she herself could not hear without horrour. The duke had by his side during the battle his second son, who had the title of earl of *Rutland*, a youth of great hopes, who was still under the care of a governor. He fled after the death of his father ; and by the address and courage of his governor, got

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near Sandal castle, where his life would at least have been safe. But the lord *Clifford*, who had seen him fly, pursued him with such diligence, that he overtook him within a hundred paces of the castle, had him seized by his men, and in cold blood plunged his dagger into his bosom, in spite of the intreaties and tears of his governor, who on his knees begged for the life of this unhappy prince.

This was the same *Clifford*, who immediately returning to the field of battle, sought there for the duke's body, which was found under a heap of the other dead; when cutting off the head, and making for it a paper crown, he fixed it on the end of his lance in order to present it in this manner to the queen. At first she turned her eyes away as if she had been terrified at the sight; but the power of hatred and revenge soon banished every other sentiment, and she was desirous of having this frightful object placed before her eyes during the rest of the day; and at last caused it to be fixed on the walls of *York*. The earl of *Salisbury* was forced to be witness to this spectacle, and dreadfully wounded as he was, he was from thence conducted to a neighbouring town, where the queen gave orders that his head should be cut off on a scaffold. This brave old man dropped some tears, lamenting that he had not lost the little blood he had left in the field of battle.

Such was the success of this famous battle, that it seemed to have raised up again the house of *Lancaster*, and to have ruined all the hopes of that of *York* by the death of its chief. The queen was well persuaded, that after this victory there was nothing that could give her uneasiness, and affecting a greater contempt for the earl of *March*, than the duke of *York* had shewn for her, the news of his approach did not make her relinquish her design of returning to *London*, to finish the work in a glorious manner by delivering the king her husband. She was also called thither by the hope of surprizing the earl of *Warwick*, who staid there to guard this prince, and was the only man in the kingdom

dom whom she thought capable of reviving a party, the very foundation of which she had just destroyed; and it appeared so impossible for him to escape, that on her causing the earl of *Salisbury*'s head to be carried to *York*, to be fixed on the walls by the side of the duke's, she had given orders that a place should be prepared for that of his son; and her only fear being that he would quit *London* to join the earl of *March*, she drew several detachments out of her army, and sent them with orders to guard the roads that lead to *Wales*, and at least to cut off the passes, if they could not take him alive or dead.

The duke of *Somerset*, who returned from *France* with but little advantage from his negociation, received her on the road in his castle near *St. Albans*. He had arrived in the evening with so few attendants and so little noise, that not making himself known on the road by his name, the news of his return had not yet reached beyond the walls of his castle; so that the unexpected meeting of so faithful a minister gave the queen as much surprize as joy. After having given her an account of what he had done to serve her, and thanked her for the revenge she had taken for the murder of his father, he informed her, that chance had given him a fine opportunity of vexing the earl of *Warwick*, and perhaps of making him to fall into her hands, by his seizing a woman whom he loved with the most ardent affection. The lady the duke was speaking of, was *Elizabeth Grey*, who came with him from *France* without knowing him, and who in her way to her relations in *Northamptonshire* had stopped at *St. Albans* to spend the night there. This lady was the daughter of *Jane of Luxemburg*, dutchess of *Bedford*, by her second marriage with sir *Richard Woodville*. Her father having married her in her infancy to sir *John Grey*, one of the most zealous partisans of the house of *Lancaster*, she had at once the misfortune of losing her husband in the battle of *St. Albans*, and of having all her substance confiscated by the conqueror. To repair the ill state of her fortune,

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she went to *France* with the hopes of collecting what once belonged to her mother. The earl of *Warwick*, who was then governor of *Calais*, had seen her when she was passing through that city, and having blended with his heroic qualities a great inclination to women, he had conceived a passion for her that became the source of a thousand extraordinary events. He several times took a journey to *Paris* with the sole view of seeing her, and his recommendation was of no small service to her in accomplishing the affairs that brought her to *France*. He was nevertheless ignorant of her return, for the modesty of this lady prevented her being so familiar with him as to give him this information: and the duke of *Somerset* was informed of these particulars only from the intelligence he received in his last voyage to *France*.

It was so necessary that the queen should put it out of the earl of *Warwick's* power to defeat her designs, that from the resolution of neglecting nothing on her part, she immediately gave orders to have *St. Albans* invested, and this was done, less with a design to prevent the appearance of violence in the project she formed on what she learnt from the duke, than to facilitate by an easy way her desire of keeping *Elizabeth* in that town, without raising a suspicion that her thoughts were particularly fixed on her. After having been assured that she was not yet gone, she dispatched a very artful man to the earl of *Warwick*, who pretended to be sent to him by his mistress to carry her complaints of the captivity in which she was kept at *St. Albans*, and to entreat him to procure her some means of returning to her father's house, whither she was called by very pressing concerns. The queen imagined that the earl would run all hazards to serve a lady who was so dear to him, or perhaps only to obtain a sight of her. From the ideas of gallantry peculiar to that age, it was common for persons to seek opportunities of signalizing themselves by the most ridiculous and most dangerous adventures. A considerable detachment, which was ordered to proceed according to the intelligence it should receive from

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the messenger, was to seize the earl if he left *London*, and to kill him if he made such resistance as to render the event of the enterprize doubtful.

But this scheme was rendered ineffectual by two obstacles that had like to have ruined the queen. Her forces were those she had raised by the hopes of pillage, and their avidity not having been yet satisfied, they considered the order for blocking up *St. Albans* as a tacit permission to plunder it. Their attack was so furious, that the queen going thither in person at the first noise of the disorder, had scarce the power to stop a seditious multitude, who thought they had a right to make her purchase their assistance. She nevertheless made them march back to their camp; but when she was returning to the duke of *Somerset's* castle, *Elizabeth Grey*, from the terror into which she and the whole town had been thrown, came voluntarily to beg her protection. Nothing was so proper to make her forget the vexation she felt at the contempt with which her orders had been treated. She received her with that admiration that could not be refused to her charms, and recalling to mind the services her husband had rendered to the house of *Lancaster*, she naturally took occasion to load her with her caresses.

In the mean while the earl of *Warwick* was informed by the queen's messenger of the need his mistress stood in of his assistance. If he had only consulted his love and courage he would have set out immediately; but being informed of the advantages the queen had gained, and judging that her design was to surprise him in *London*, his prudence suggested that he had more than one valuable interest to defend, and that he ought to find some means of uniting them. The revenge of his father, the keeping the king, and the safety of his mistress, were three motives, the least of which would have been sufficient to make him attempt impossibilities; without reckoning the earl of *March's* youth, made him think he was obliged to undertake his defence, in order to finish what his father and himself had begun. The troops the duke had left him

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for the king's guard, were not so numerous as to put him in a condition to take the field, but he found the secret of increasing them of a sudden, by incorporating among them some companies of the *London* citizens; and not being ignorant of what kind of men the queen's army was composed, he thought himself strong enough to vanquish a woman and a parcel of undisciplined soldiers. He marched therefore towards *St. Albans* at the head of eight thousand men, an army which he had raised in less than twenty-four hours. Not daring to leave the king behind, he forced him to follow him; and his march was so speedy, that on approaching the queen's camp, he flattered himself with coming upon it by surprize, in the same manner as she had thought to surprize him at *London*.

But she had already received intelligence of his messenger, and the tranquillity that appeared in the camp was only a stratagem that deceived the earl. She had given the duke of *Somerset* orders to lie in ambush with a body of troops in some place from whence he might fall upon him on the rear, as soon as she saw him engaged in the plain; and those who were left in the camp being to advance as soon as he appeared, she was almost certain that by surrounding him on all sides, there would none escape but those she was willing to save.

She did not conceal from the lady *Grey* the danger with which her lover was threatned. She was willing to assure her by this confidence of the share she had in her esteem, and to let her know of what service she might be to her if the earl's success was not agreeable to her hopes. *Elizabeth* felt only for the earl those sentiments of esteem that are the tribute due to merit, added to the gratitude she thought she owed him for his services: but a declaration of so terrible a nature made her perceive her heart touched with impressions which she had never felt before. In spite of the care with which she was watched by the queen, she found means to inform him of the principal circumstances of the danger. This advice, which he received

ceived on the road, did not disconcert him. He changed his design of falling on the camp into that of attacking the duke of *Somerfet*, whose ambuscade he had no difficulty to discover; and charging him with his usual impetuosity, at a time when it was least expected, he would infallibly have defeated him, if the situation of the place had not favoured the queen's troops: but while this served them for a defence, those of the camp who had time to advance, put him into a disorder that could not be repaired by all his dexterity and courage. It was with much difficulty that he disengaged himself: he lost three thousand men, and saving himself by flight, with all who were capable of following him, he left the king, who thus found himself free in the midst of conquerors. During this battle the burgesses of *St. Albans* enraged at the attempt that had been made to plunder them by the queen's army, made some motions to succour the earl, but they paid for this boldness by the ruin of the town.

The king was accompanied in his coach by the lady *Neville*, whom the earl of *Warwick*, her brother, thought a proper person to soften the severity of his fate, by the charms of her conversation. Thus the same fortune by which the queen obtained two victories, also restored to her what was most dear to her enemy, since the unhappy loss of his father. She judged that two women who had such power over the earl's heart, would one time or other make him fall into the snare from which he had just escaped; and therefore without giving them room to apprehend any ill treatment, gave orders that they should be carefully guarded. She was not ignorant however, that they had both betrayed her; the one in favour of the duke of *York*, and the other by the service she had just done the earl of *Warwick*; but the queen was incapable of being gratified by a subordinate revenge; or at least, she was of such a disposition, that she easily sacrificed her little resentments to the emotions of a more violent hatred, and though she beheaded some of the lords who were taken prisoners, it was not so much with a view of punishing them for having taking up arms against

against her, as to deprive her enemy of such brave champions. Thus, tho' she caused the lord *Bouville*, and Sir *Thomas Kiriel* to be executed, she pardoned many other prisoners of war, whom she despised too much to fear them.

However, the earl of *Warwick* was so happy in his retreat, that the two detachments that had waited for him in the road to *Wales*, being defeated by the earl of *March*, he found no obstacle to prevent his joining that prince. Their meeting seemed to threaten the queen with a new battle, and no body expected, that animated as they both were by so many losses and aggravated provocations, they would chuse to revenge themselves by the slowest and most uncertain way. Nevertheless, *Warwick* himself advised the young earl to neglect the queen for some time, and to go directly to *London*, in order to be crowned there. It was always his maxim, that the duke of *York* ruined his affairs by delays and scruples. He told him, that after he had openly aspired to the throne, he ought boldly to venture every thing to obtain the speedy possession of it; and that the articles to which the duke had consented, had been like so many mean recantations, that had snatched from him the fruit of so noble an enterprize. Perhaps this advice might be occasioned by the confusion he was in at having suffered the king to be taken from him. He foresaw all the use the queen was going to make of her husband's name, and seeking to repair his fault, imagined that the Earl of *March*'s party would act with greater bravery, when serving a chief invested with the same title.

The event shewed, that this was the best advice the earl could have been directed by. They hastened to gain *London*; and the reception they there met with, increased their confidence. The people had learnt the disorders the queen's army had committed where ever they came, and the example of *St. Albans* had thrown the citizens into such a consternation, that they opened their gates and their arms to those who they believed were sent from heaven, to preserve them from be-

ing treated in the same manner. The next day the earl caused it to be published abroad, that he had some important proposals to communicate to the whole city: and appointed the place, which was a neighbouring plain, where he ranged the earl of *March*'s army in order of battle. The people being accordingly assembled, the earl of *Warwick* advanced alone between the army and the citizens, and demanded with a loud voice, if they desired to have *Henry* of *Lancaster* still for their king. As it was not difficult to discover the intent of this question, the people and the army unanimously replied, no, no. He then asked, if they acknowledged as lawful heir to the crown, *Edward* the fourth, the chief of the house of *York*, as worthy of the name of king by his virtues, as by the right of birth. To this with the loudest acclamations, they several times repeated, yes. The earl of *March* then appeared, and received the submissions of the assembly, with congratulations and redoubled testimonies of joy and approbation.

The next day he was proclaimed in the city of *London*, with all the pomp which the unhappy fituation of the state would permit, without there being found a single partisan of the house of *Lancaster*, who dared to speak against it. The parliament, accustomed to adhere to the strongest side, declared, that king *Henry* having broke the conditions on which he was raised to the throne, was justly deprived for the rest of his life, of all the prerogatives that had been granted him.

What a conclusion to all the labours of the queen, and what a new change in the fortune of *Henry*, whom the thought of bringing in triumph to the capital! She was informed, that all her misfortunes were to be attributed to the earl of *Warwick*; and in the first heat of her resentment, suffered a most bloody order to escape her, against his sister and his mistress; but having immediately countermanded it, she sent for these two ladies, exhorted them to remember that their lives were in her hands, and without informing them of the strange revolution that had just happened in *London*,

demanded which of the two was disposed to do the earl a piece of service, which all his gratitude could not repay. The distrust they both entertained of this proposal, as coming from the mouth of a declared enemy, prevented their reply; but resuming the subject with a frankness capable of removing all their doubts, she declared that from the just hatred she bore the earl, she was resolved to set a price on his head; that this punishment was due to a rebellious subject, who had not been recalled to his duty by his father's tragical fate; nevertheless, it being the duty of crowned heads never to employ extremes of rigour, till after they had exhausted those of Goodness, she would yet make one attempt of this kind, in making the earl a proposal to abandon the interests of the house of York, and to return to the loyalty he owed to his master; that in the midst of her hatred she did justice to the earl's extraordinary qualifications, and was sensible of what advantage it was to a king, to have such subjects for the support of his crown. That she would leave him the liberty of making his own conditions; and that if it was ambition that had made him forget his duty, she would lay it down as the foundation of their reconciliation, that he should be the next to her in the government of the state.

Historians do not pretend to prove that this discourse was sincere: In the following sense it was undoubtedly so. The queen had in more than one instance been capable of artifice, without making use of treachery. Thus from the same principle that had induced her to make a generous effort to conquer herself, and countermand the orders she had given for the death of the two ladies, she suddenly returned to the thought that in this extremity of her fortune, in which, while *London* and the parliament had declared against the king her husband, she had no other resource but a licentious army, which she could scarcely manage; and there remained nothing perhaps that appeared of such advantage, as gaining over the earl by proposals of a very extraordinary nature. He knew the pride of her who assumed the character of supplicant: this

was a bait proper to catch such a heart as his ; and much more so was it to find his enemy filled with so high an opinion of his generosity, as to believe him capable of being moved by the confidence she reposed in his virtue. In short, the alternative she proposed of revenge or friendship being a powerful motive to influence the two ladies, she imagined that a heart the most inured to hatred might be overcome by the persuasions of a sister or mistress. But in yielding to the necessity which forced her to think of this capitulation, she was not the less resolved to get rid of the earl, if he should reject her offers ; and the menaces of setting a price on his head, was only designed as a cloak to disguise her design of taking away his life by a shorter method. She left the two ladies to decide for which of them he would have the greatest regard and submission ; and the permission she offered to either of them was, to give him an interview in a place that would appear the least suspicious.

Modesty not permitting *Elizabeth Grey* to accept of this commission alone, though it was sufficiently clear that the solicitations of love are always the most powerful, the queen was under some embarrassment, for she had proposed to keep one to answer for the fidelity of the other. However by the advice of *Somerset* and *Clifford*, she passed over this difficulty. The lady *Newill* had leave to write to the earl. She proposed to meet him at a feast that belonged to their family, which stood about four miles from *London*, where by the queen's order, he should also see *Elizabeth Grey*, who as well as she, was to make him some important overtures. She also informed him that as the queen had ordered her to be escorted by fifty men, he ought not to be attended by a greater number.

The neighbourhood of the city seemed proper to banish all distrust, and love supported by valour, feared no danger. This appeared to the earl as no more than an adventure of gallantry ; the only precaution he observed was to send part of his men before, and being informed by them that the ladies with their escort were already there, he advanced with an air of intrepidity.

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Their conference lasted but a short time, for having at the first word rejected all the proposals capable of wounding his glory, he was much more curious to know what it was that retained the two ladies in the queen's camp : and hearing from themselves that they were strictly guarded, he in his turn, proposed their seizing so fair an opportunity of following him. If he foresaw any resistance on the part of their escort, he flattered himself, that in an equal number, his valour, would give the advantage on his side : but he did not suspect his being over heard by *Clifford*, who had promised the Queen to kill him as soon as he found him obstinately resolved to reject the proposals. This lord, whose hand was accustomed to such barbarous actions, was in the habit of a woman, as were two officers who had lost their father at *Calais*. They had got admission into the earl's castle two hours before the arrival of the ladies, under the pretence of being women in their retinue, and having approached the place of their conference, without giving the least suspicion to the earl's escort, who guarded the gate, they had posted themselves so advantageously, as both to hear, and to be ready to surprize them. However they could not enter the chamber he was in, without betraying themselves by the swiftness of their motions. He had time to put himself on his defence, and being armed from head to foot, he had the happiness to escape being hurt by the first blows, while the cries of the two ladies called his men to his assistance.

But it was more difficult for him to save his life, from the incapacity they were under of assisting him. The ladies guard had orders to attack the other on the least disturbance, with all the advantage that a regular formed design gives men over those who are unprovided. Thus while the slaughter began without, the earl was obliged to defend himself within against three men who had sworn his destruction.

But *Elizabeth Grey*, whose mind was formed for the great adventures that elevated her to the throne, felt herself animated with such courage, that she seized *Clifford* with a vigour that held him in a manner im-

moveable. The Lady *Nevill* giving some embarrassment to the two others, the earl slew one with his sword, and happily disengaging himself from the second, in order to get out of the door, his presence was to his men like the sign of victory; and he in conjunction with them, cut in pieces those who still dared to sustain his blows and reproaches. In short, having killed all, even to the last man, he rejoined the ladies with as much tranquillity as if their conversation had not been interrupted. Of so many unhappy persons who had thought themselves certain of victory, *Clifford*, and he who continued with him, were the only persons who saved themselves, which they did by escaping to a wood at a small distance from the castle.

The queen's fidelity in not giving the ladies a guard superior to that of the earl's, made this attempt appear the less odious, and *Clifford*'s treachery fell only on himself. But the earl was not the less enraged against the cause of so vile an assault, and in the height of revenge scarce did he give himself time to conduct the two Ladies to *London*. He inflamed king *Edward* by his exhortations, and assembling all the volunteers he could pick up among the citizens of *London*, and the neighbouring towns, he incorporated them amongst this prince's forces, which by this means composed a formidable army. In this interval, *Vauclerc*, to whom he had left the government of *Calais* in his absence, brought him two thousand men, the remains of the old warriors who had fought in *France*, to whom this brave officer had given shelter, when after being disbanded, they sought for a master who would reward their services. He had chosen them with such care, that he gloried at his being at the head of such a well experienced body; and on the news he had learnt of the earl's defeat at St *Alban*'s, he came to offer him that zeal and courage, of which in the end he gave him so many illustrious proofs. But what *Warwick* gained by the arrival of so gallant a soldier, did not, in his esteem compensate for the loss he suffered of another treasure, without his having yet the least anticipation of his misfortune. It has been already related,

lated with what resolution the lady *Grey* had saved him from falling by *Clifford's* hand, and those who had been inspired, by her performing so extraordinary an action, with a desire of seeing her, had still shewn greater admiration at her charms, than surprize at her courage. *Edward* had no better a defence than a thousand others against the beauty of this heroine. I only here observe the origin of a passion, that cost the earl of *Warwick* his fortune and life, after having made an ungrateful prince his mortal enemy, who owed to him his glory and his crown.

They both made haste to begin their march, with all the hopes that valour and superiority of numbers gave over enemies whom they detested and despised: but the queen who was informed of their strength did not think fit to risk a battle before she had augmented her army. If ever she had been sensible of disgrace, it was from the mortification she had received from the earl of *Warwick's* triumph, and his delivering her two captives. She went almost immediately to hide her grief and confusion into the northern counties, where the house of *Lancaster* had always had many partisans; and she found them so little cooled, that she strengthened her army with considerable recruits, and even by entire bodies composed of fresh forces, and their diligence having equalled her zeal, she in a few days saw herself at the head of sixty thousand men.

Edward, who was now become the weakest, tho' he set out from *London* with forty thousand men, did not for a moment lose the desire of advancing, or the hope of conquest. He directed his march towards *York*, whither he was informed that *Henry* and his queen had repaired. Being arrived at *Pontefract*, the sight of a place, where his warmest adherents had lost their lives by the hand of the hangman, awakened all his courage, at the same time that it roused up his resentment: but what were the earl of *Warwick's* emotions at visiting a place, which still appeared stained with the blood of his father. They were to pass the bridge of *Ferry-bridge*, to meet the enemy who were encamped at some distance from the river *Aire*. The Lord

Fitzwalter with a considerable detachment, had orders to take possession of the bridge ; but he found there the furious *Clifford*, who cut in pieces part of his men, and killed him and the bastard of *Salisbury*. What a new spur to the animosity of the earl of *Warwick* ! He flew to *Edward*, and dismounting slew his horse in his presence, and said “ Sir, the enemy is master of the bridge, but fly who will, for myself, I swear by this good sign,” (on uttering which he kissed the cross on the hilt of his sword) “ to stay here with *Vauclere*, and fight till my last breath.” He then instantly engaged this prince to cause to be published throughout the army, that he would give all who feared the enemy liberty to retire, and would reward those who did their duty ; but that no pardon was to be expected for those who fled. In short, sending *Falconbridge* his uncle to cross the river three miles above the bridge, he gave him order to return along the bank and attack *Clifford* who guarded it on the other side. This expedition was conducted with as much secrecy as diligence. *Clifford*, surprized by *Falconbridge*, thought of nothing but defending himself against so unforeseen an attack, and abandoned the bridge, which the earl, seeking for *Clifford*, hastily passed at the head of a part of *Vauclere*’s veterans : He found his enemy, and having at first wounded him with an arrow, finished the work with his sword, with which he cleaved him down the body ; too slight a chastisement for so barbarous a monster !

The queen, who had retired to *York* with her husband, was not disturbed by such an inconsiderable loss ; she gave the command of her army to the duke of *Somerset*, and all her hopes depending on this victory, she declared that he must conquer or die. The two armies met on *Palm Sunday* in the plain of *Towton*, where they ranged themselves in order of battle. There had not for a long time been seen such powerful armies in *England* ; I have already remarked, that the queen’s surpassed the other by one third : but unhappily for the *Lancastrians*, the air became darkened by snow, which suddenly falling in great quantities, was blown by the wind

wind in their faces. *Falconbridge*, who commanded the van of *Edward's* army, seized this happy moment; he made his men sling their bows, and falling upon the enemy sword in hand, began a close combat with a terrible slaughter, which lasted from morning till night, with the same obstinacy and resolution. Historians have given but a very confused idea of this battle; but they all agree in considering it as one of the most terrible chastisements with which heaven has ever afflicted *England*. Towards the evening the *Lancastrians* began to give ground. They did not however fly: they retreated fighting, standing firm from time to time with a resolution which still rendered the victory doubtful. However, the earl of *Warwick* having animated his men by prodigious instances of valour, they pressed the enemy with such vigour, that at last they forced them to turn their backs. The slaughter then became most dreadful; those who fled first took the way towards *Tadcaster* bridge, but finding themselves pressed by the cruel conquerors, who had orders to give no quarter, they resolved to pass the *Cock*, which runs into the wharf, when they threw themselves into it with such disorder, that the river was instantly filled up with the dying and the dead, who in their last moments served as a bridge to the companions of their flight. It is related, that the slaughter was so great in this place, that the water of the wharf appeared stained with blood for many days: and this relation is not incredible, since historians assure us, that the number of the dead amounted to about forty thousand *

Edward, after his victory, marched directly to *York*, with the hopes of seizing the king and queen there; but on his arrival he was informed, that on the news of the defeat of their army, they set out with the greatest precipitation, in order to retire into *Scotland*. His first care was now to take down from the walls the heads of the duke his father and the earl of *Salisbury*, regretting his not being able to put up in their places those of *Henry* and *Margaret*. However he fixed up those of the earl of *Devonshire* and the Lord

* *Rapin* says the number killed was 36776.

Clifford, to which he added a great number of others less considerable.

The loss of this famous battle was an irreparable misfortune to the house of *Lancaster*. *Edward* found no more enemies to oppose him, and judging by the dejection of the conquered, that he had no longer anything to fear, he returned to *London*, where he had the satisfaction to see, soon after his arrival, many lords who came to implore his clemency. We are assured that it was the shame of having served the queen with so little success, that prevented them from following her, and made them abandon a party to which they were as much attach'd by their inclinations, as by the ancient engagement of their families: and it soon appeared, that their hearts had no share in this seeming infidelity. After some executions that seemed necessary to establish the new king on the throne, he called a parliament, which he without difficulty brought to approve of all that had hitherto been done in his favour. He was victorious: and in *England* the advantage of arms has always been the best rule in deciding pretensions to the crown; for the parliament have never been averse to the salutary principle, that they ought always to declare for the strongest. According to this maxim, the new parliament approved *Edward's* coronation, which was celebrated with much pomp. It confirmed his prerogatives, and cancelled all the acts that had been made in the last reign against the house of *York* and *Henry* the sixth, after a reign of thirty eight years, was considered as an usurper. It is thus, to make use of the words of a celebrated historian, that they sported with the credulity of the people, and endeavoured to make them believe, that every thing that had been just for sixty years together, was become unjust by a victory which the new king owed to nothing but his good fortune.

Berwick was the only place in the whole kingdom that continued faithful to the house of *Lancaster*; and the necessity of pleasing the king of *Scotland*, of whom the fugitive king and queen had begged a retreat, soon forced them to deliver it up to the *Scots*. On this

this consideration *Margaret* obtained the permission of concealing her grief for some time in a castle in *Scotland*, to which she had desired leave to retire; when the dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, who had the happiness to save themselves after the battle, composed her whole retinue. In the uncertainty she was in what resolutions she ought to take, she refused those honours that would have laid her under restraint; and it was not till she had resolved to go and demand that assistance in foreign courts, that was refused her in *Scotland*, that she accepted of a guard of a hundred horsemen for the security of the king her husband and prince *Edward* her son, during her absence.

But while she abandoned herself to the bitterness of her reflections, and while in the necessity she was under for money, she was obliged to reject every expedient that required this kind of assistance, there came to her in her solitude, a *French* merchant who had settled in *Scotland*, where he had amassed considerable riches, by trading to the *Low Countries*. After having expressed his compassion for her misfortunes, he brought to her remembrance a good office she had done him when she was very young, and lived at the court at *Nancy*; and explaining to her what his situation rendered him capable of doing, to express his gratitude, he offered her all that she thought necessary to extricate her out of her misfortunes. She considered this as a favour from heaven. A vessel and money were all she wished for, and having obtained those of the merchant, she staid no longer in *Scotland*, than to bind the young king *James* and his ministers, by all the promises necessary to remove her uneasiness, for the fate of her husband and son.

She left the duke of *Exeter* with these two princes, with a charge to watch continually over their safety, and being embarked at *Dunbar* with the duke of *Somerset*, she sailed to a port in *Flanders*, from whence she sent *Somerset* to the duke of *Burgundy* to solicit his assistance, while she repaired to *Paris* to implore the succour of *Louis the eleventh*.

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This prince found himself too much employ'd on the side of *Bretagne*, to have any inclination to break with *England*. But he could not refuse his friendship and kind offices to an unhappy queen, nearly related to him by blood. He loaded her with caresses, and tho' he neither granted her considerable sums nor regular troops, he permitted her to engage in her service all who were voluntarily disposed to espouse her interest; this was a considerable advantage, and notwithstanding her present age, she would have found as many champions as there were young lords at the court; and the charm by which she gained upon the mind, when her pride did not prevent her making use of it, would have produced a greater effect in raising an army, than even the king's consent; but after having made a very happy beginning, a weakness from which neither the weight of adversity, nor the force of ambition were able to defend her, ruined her finest hopes.

Amongst the young nobility who hovered about her, she was struck with the good mien of the lord de la *Vawane*, grand seneschal of *Normandy*. This nobleman, besides his being possessed of much wit, and an elevation of mind, had a turn of imagination, which in this age was not extraordinary at the court of *France*, but which could not fail of always appearing very conspicuous in such distinguished characters. He piqued himself on his gallantry, in all the senses that can be contained in that term, and placing his glory in vindicating the honour and interest of the ladies, he sought every opportunity of meriting the title he assumed of being their knight. The task of succouring a distressed queen, as celebrated for her courage as her beauty, seemed peculiarly calculated to give a full scope to his romantic ideas. He offered her his wealth which was considerable, and his sword, which he had already effectually signalized by exploits, that were celebrated in the histories of *France*. Whether it was, that the queen had conceived so good an opinion of him as to entertain great hopes from his promises, or whether from a too great sensibility, she suffered

suffered her heart to be softened by his affiduity, she soon gave him such marks of preference, as kept those at a distance who had approached her with the same desires.

Her policy now appeared to abandon her. Far from discovering the fault she had committed in neglecting the offers of a number of the young nobility, she seemed as if she had confined all her views to the conquest of this feneschal ; and that five hundred men, which he promised to put under her command, compleated all the hopes for which she had left *Scotland*. Some historians justify her by asserting, that she was in fear of precipitating herself into new embarrassments, by taking into their service so many young men whom she would scarce be able to manage, and whose obedience to the officer she should place over them, could not be depended upon ; whereas in her present opinion, that she had need only of a small number of resolute men to facilitate her descent in the north of *England*, where she imagined that her single presence would reanimate all her partisans, she should find in *Varenne* and his troop all that would be necessary for the success of her expedition.

Whatever judgment we may be willing to form of it, she put out to sea with this nobleman, on the bare promise of a very powerful assistance, which the king made her expect as soon as she should have brought some counties in *England* to declare themselves in her favour. She escaped the ships which *Edward* had ordered to wait for her in her passage, and attempted to land at the mouth of the *Tine*, but found there a body of forces that obliged her to sail from thence. A furious tempest, by which her vessels were greatly damaged, now made her think of regaining the coast of *France*, when the wind, which suddenly changed, drove her without the assistance of the mariners into the mouth of the *Tweed*, from whence she easily repaired to *Berwick*. The feneschal by her orders fortified the camp with intrenchments, waiting till she had caused the news of her arrival to be spread through the neighbouring counties : but the ardour of

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the inhabitants did not answer her expectations, and on the news she soon received that *Ogle* was marching with four thousand men, to fall upon the seneschal's camp, she gained the frontiers of *Scotland*, when she flattered herself that the *Scots* would not suffer her to be oppressed.

The historians have not left any particulars relating to *Margaret's* gallantries ; we find at certain intervals sufficient proofs that the imputations of her enemies were not always without foundation. Those who have accused her of having loved successively the two *Somersets*, have not been too much blinded by their hatred, at least, if the reproach was as just with respect to the father, as it appears to be with regard to the son. The queen had left him in *Flanders*, where, from the ardour with which he longed to serve her, his endeavours became more successful than her's, and he had the happiness to obtain the duke of *Burgundy's* permission to raise some forces, with which he immediately sailed into *England*; and having with such judgment chosen the place of his descent, that he entered without opposition into *Northumberland*, he would have given the queen a greater facility in landing, than she actually found, if he had not been forced by unforeseen events to shut himself up in *Bamburgh*. He was there defending himself with the utmost valour, when he was not only informed that the queen had entered the *Tweed*, but was accompanied by a *French* nobleman, who had acquired all her confidence, and who governed her heart with as much power, as her affairs and her troops. He was enraged that two months absence had made her forget his fidelity and his services. Jealousy had no doubt a share in his resentment ; for whatsoever idea we form of the nature of his zeal, he could not bear to think that a stranger was come to carry away the preference which he thought his services had merited. He was besieged by *John Nevill*, who had just been created Marquis of *Montague* ; to him he applied, and this family was so powerful at the court of *London*, that he could not chuse a mediator who would more certainly make his peace with *Edward*. The marquis

marquis, delighted with so illustrious a conquest, procured him the restitution of all his honours and estates, with an annual pension of a thousand marks.

But by an inconstancy that can only be attributed to love, scarce was he at *London*, when he reproached himself with having too easily believed the rumours which he had not given himself time to examine. He wrote to the queen to reproach her for her ingratitude, or rather to vindicate himself. She was then gone with the seneschal to *Edinburgh*, and had left her men on the frontiers. The protection of *France*, which she represented as a considerable advantage, determined the king of *Scotland* to grant her the permission to raise some forces in his dominions. *Henry*, who began to be sensible of the value of a crown, from the time he had lost his own, employed himself in raising an army, and his party in the north of *England* beginning to resume their courage from the preparations made in his favour, appeared disposed to make some new motions to second him.

The queen's answer to *Somerset* only consisted of complaints of his treachery; but he, thinking himself happy in being regretted, thought of nothing but repairing the injury he had done her, and of allowing for the uneasiness she had felt on his account, by a new sacrifice of his fortune. In leaving *Edward*'s court he engaged *Ralph Percy*, brother to the earl of *Northumberland*, who had submitted to *Edward* after the battle of *Towton*, to take the same resolution, and tho' they did not dare to raise troops, they carried the queen a considerable sum, which they had taken upon credit in *London*. They joined her in *Northumberland*, where she and her army were already arrived; *Somerset*'s impatience to see her, saved his life, by his not being present at a skirmish in which the small number of men he brought with him were cut to pieces by the marquis of *Montague*. He was gone before, having left *Piercy* at the head of some companies he had collected on the road, when *Montague*, who commanded in the north, arrived at the same time

time with all the force he had been able to assemble, and falling upon *Piercy*, whom he found without seeking, slew him and all his men.

But the duke of *Somerset*'s double inconstancy did not long remain unpunished. He met the queen in her march, and with whatever marks of joy and affection she appeared to receive him, he soon found that he was not deceived in his first suspicions, and that all her favour was lavished on the seneschal. The little time he was in her Company was employed in complaints and explications, which did not produce a sincere reconciliation. They were arrived at *Hexham*, and the queen having taken the resolution to encamp there, in order to receive the succours that were continually arriving, the army laboured to fortify themselves by several intrenchments, while *Montague*, animated by the advantage they had just obtained, had the boldness to attack *Henry* in his lines, and pressing forward with such vigour as to give him no time to recollect himself, killed the best part of his men on the spot, and put the rest to flight. *Henry* and *Margaret* saved themselves by taking different roads, which led the one into *Scotland*, and the other into the strangest extremities to which a queen was ever reduced. The duke of *Somerset* had the misfortune to be taken prisoner; he was not suffered to languish in suspence, for *Montague*, enraged at his having broke his word with him, caused him to lose his head at *Hexham*.

The queen, who in the midst of her hurry and disorder had not time to make use of any vehicle, or to take any attendants, made haste to gain a neighbouring forest on foot, with the young prince *Edward*, whom she led by the hand, and not daring to leave this place of safety in the evening, she staid till she was surprised by the night. Far from being afflicted at this adventure, she penetrated into the thickest part of the wood, and having there delivered up herself to the bitterness of her own reflections, thanked heaven for having granted her a retreat, in which the enemies she had now to fear appeared less dreadful

less dreadful than those of the human species. I should scarce attempt to relate the particulars of this adventure, if the best *English* historians had not inserted all its circumstances, and if our *Monstroses* had not related the principal, without any expression of doubt. *Rapin* mentions them in a very cursory manner, but he nevertheless supposes them to be facts attested by other historians. Tho' he touched upon them so slightly, he was right, in doing so; for it is certain that events of this nature, do not so properly belong to a general history, as to that of a particular person. Besides, let it be considered, that what has made me regard the life of *Margaret of Anjou* as the most curious and interesting part of the *English* history, is the singularity of this queen's adventures, and the multitude of incidents of the tender, affecting, and terrible kind with which king *Henry*'s reign has been distinguished.

In the midst of the most gloomy reflections, there arose one in the queen's mind, which flattered her imagination so much the more, as from its being then the finest season of the year, she found nothing in the sweetness of the air, and in the verdure of the leaves, but what were reasons that induced her suddenly to familiarize herself to solitude, and accustom herself to be pleased with the objects with which she was surrounded. It struck into her thoughts, that the life of the prince her son being the foundation of all her hopes, she could in no place secure herself with more safety from the hatred of her enemies, than in a desert forest, where none could suspect that she had taken him, and where she had not perceived any path that might make her fear an accidental discovery. What dreadful apprehensions would she expose herself to, if she should the next day run the hazard of meeting with her conquerors? and which way should she go, in order to find her husband? Could the fear of wanting food disturb her, and could she need any other support from nature, than that from which the animals drew their health and strength? These were her reflections, and she so well conformed herself to these ideas by the meditations of a whole night, that

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he next day she determined to stay some time in the forest, at least till the rage of war had ceased in the neighbouring places ; or if heaven would not yet grant her the means of regaining Scotland, she proposed to stay there till her son, who was but eight years of age, should be able to take a painful walk, across *Northumberland* to *Berwick*.

But while she was seeking some commodious place that would afford her shelter against the inclemencies of the weather, she discovered many persons lying carelessly on the grass, who seemed to have passed the night on the same spot. Her fear was greatly increased, when she observed that they heard the noise of her steps, and that they cast their eyes on every side with much eagerness. All her address could not prevent her being perceived. They ran to her. The sight of a woman in a very rich dress, and a child who carried about him a thousand proofs of his being of a very elevated rank, at first seemed to inspire them with some respect ; but they being by profession robbers, the ease with which they might become masters of so considerable a booty, soon chased away the sensations that restrained them. They cast themselves on the queen, whom they stripped of what appeared of the greatest value, and the young prince was not treated with less ceremony. It is easy to imagine from the continual agitations in which *Margaret* had lived, that she was adorned with a great number of precious stones, that were in a manner the remains of her grandeur ; and it is said that her spoils were sufficient to enrich this company of robbers. But they were so intoxicated with their good fortune, that not being able to agree about dividing the plunder, they quarrelled and fought with a rage and intrepidity suitable to their character. The queen, who only begged of heaven to preserve the life of her son, seized this moment to make her escape with him, and rushing into the thickest part of the wood, continued walking as long as the young prince had strength to accompany her : but seeing him ready to faint with his fatigue, she took him in her arms, and continued her walk with incredi-

incredible vigour and resolution. But when she thought herself delivered from the most terrifying part of her danger, she met another robber who belonged to the former gang, and was going in search of his companions, after his having, to appearance, completed some crime, which he longed to communicate to them. He came up to her with his sword lifted up ; but what it may be imagined, might have made her die with affright, served on the contrary to make her rouse up her spirits. She assumed the air and tone of majesty, which from her being so long seated on the throne, was become in a manner natural, and even making this, in so pressing a necessity appear much more conspicuous, she presented the prince of *Wales* to the robber, and cry'd friend, save the son of thy king.

The name of king struck the wretch with such a lively sense of respect and fear, that he let the sword fall at the prince's feet, and thinking of nothing but how to serve him, offered to do every thing the queen thought him capable of undertaking, to save her and her son. She desired him to take up the young prince, whom she had not strength to carry any farther, on which he took him in his arms, while she snatching up his sword, put herself in a condition to reduce him to obedience, if he should prove capable of retracting his promises. But his zeal was so constant, that on the relation she made him of the barbarity of his companions, he endeavoured to persuade her to go back to them, assuring her, that he would find some means to make them restore what they had taken from her. The queen no longer regarded the loss of her jewels. She found by experience that nothing gives such strength to the natural sensations as adversity ; and her son was every thing to her. The only request she made to the robber was to conduct her to a place of sufficient safety, where she could without danger take time to inform herself of the fate of *Henry* and his army. This robber was married, and had a house in a neighbouring village ; and in the state.

state in which he found the prince and his mother, almost naked, and disfigured with fatigue and fear, he asked if they durst run the hazard of being known, in retiring to this place of safety. Necessity forced them to accept his offers.

They lived there two days, while the robber himself, their confident and defender, took informations on the consequences of the battle. But on the morning of the third day, their hostess, who had been desired by her husband to watch them with the greatest care, without trusting her with a secret which he was desirous of preserving, came to inform them, that she had seen in the village some armed men, who enquired with the appearance of great uneasiness, if the people had heard nothing of the queen and prince of *Wales*. Though this request had the appearance of indiscretion, *Margaret* imagined it could be none but those who belonged to her husband; and filled with this confidence, she went out dressed in her hostess's cloaths, and the gratification of her curiosity, being attended with no danger while under this disguise, she found the *Seneschal*, accompanied by his esquire, and an *English* gentleman whom he had desired to serve him as guide and interpreter.

La Varenne had been less indifferent than the king, about the fate of the queen and prince. After having distinguished himself gloriously in the battle, he was forced to yield to the torrent, and secure his liberty by flight; but he had rallied his men under his standard, and seeing no possibility of keeping the field with so inconsiderable a support, he had sent them under the conduct of *Berwick* his lieutenant, to a little town called *Akwick*, which had been taken by the queen's army on their leaving *Scotland*. As he had already been informed by some *Englishmen*, that *Margaret* had disappeared with her son, and that she had been seen turning towards *Hexham* forest, he did not doubt but that she had there sought for a retreat. Being confirmed in the belief of this by learning that *Henry* was gone towards *Scotland*, and that neither the queen

queen nor the prince were named among *Montague's* prisoners ; he had resolved to search for them, with the precaution of being accompanied only by two persons, to prevent his being exposed to the observation of the conquerors.

In the extremity to which the queen was reduced, this was a relief ; but a relief so feeble, that though it might serve to give her consolation, it was far from being capable of contributing to her safety. When she examined what advantage she might draw from it in regaining *Scotland*, it seemed to her, that she would run a much greater hazard in appearing with three armed men, than with a single highwayman, whom according to her first project, she had chosen for her guide. However, other fears would scarcely permit her to trust herself to the fidelity of a robber at a time when she found a man, whom she knew to be more attached to her interest, than any other person upon earth. She was delivered from this uncertainty by the advice of the *English* gentleman, who accompanied the seneschal. As they were fully resolved to leave *England*, he imagined, that if the coast of *Northumberland* was too closely watched to allow them the hopes of gaining the sea on that side ; they might promise themselves that they should meet with fewer difficulties in *Cumberland*, which bordered on the *Irish* sea. It was not much farther to *Carlisle*, (which is situated on *Solway Firth*) than the first ports of the north sea, and this city was much nearer than *Scotland*. The *English* gentleman had friends there, who might favour their embarkation. Why therefore might they not take the road from *Carlisle* to *Galloway*, from whence it would be easy to reach *Edinburgh*? They agreed to this resolution, and the robber, who arrived at this moment, confirmed them in it, by giving a new alarm to them. He had learnt that from a report of the queen's not being returned to *Scotland*, the duke of *Montague* proposed to lay siege to *Alnwick* and *Dunstaburgh*, at the same time ; from its being imagined that she was retired to one of these places. This ardour in endeavouring to seize her and

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the prince, made her perceive all the horror of the fate that threatened them both, if they should have the misfortune to fall into their enemies hands ; and the punishment of the unfortunate *Somerset*, rendered this fear the more pressing.

However, when she had told the seneschal the dreadful adventure she had met with in the forest, he did not think his honour would permit him to leave the place without taking vengeance on the robbers, who had insulted her : Besides, the value of what they had taken from her, was a motive for not leaving so great a booty in the possession of these infamous wretches. The inequality of number making but little impression on a heart like his, he resolved with the assistance of his two companions, to run thro' the greatest dangers in search of them. This enterprize, so conformable to his ideas of chivalry, did not at all answer his expectations, but in penetrating into the thickest and most un-frequented parts of the forest, he met the duke of *Exeter*, and *Edmund*, brother to the duke of *Somerset*, who had concealed themselves there immediately after the battle of *Hexham* ; and surrounded as they were by their enemies, and without the least hopes of favour from the conqueror, they as well as the queen flattered themselves with being able to spend some days in this solitude, and with finding the means of either reaching *Scotland* or the sea. Their meeting with the Seneschal, whom they had not seen often enough to be able to recollect his features, exposed them all to the danger of perishing in the first emotions of suspicion : but being at last known for friends and companions in the same fortune, they joined the Seneschal in searching for the robbers, but met with no success, since they were probably retired to secure their booty.

Nothing could give greater consolation to the queen than the sight of two lords so devoted to her interest. After having bestowed some tears to the memory of the duke of *Somerset*, she consented to set out for *Carlisle*, and the assistance of the highwayman, who knew all the turnings of the road, was accepted. The lords would have acquitted the

queen

queen of the gratitude she owed him, by offering his wife a part of the money they had with them; but from a generosity worthy of a better fortune, he forbid her accepting of it, and lamenting his having nothing of value to offer them in their necessity, made the queen experience a sensation, which kings are but little acquainted with, when they make use of their power. "Of all my misfortunes, said she, what "I this moment regret the most, is my being unable to "reward you." She arrived happily at *Carlisle*, and by the care of her *English* guide, a large boat was provided, which carried her to the first county in *Scotland*.

Scarce had she reached the coast, when she felt all those views revive, which her son's misery rather than her own, and the continual alarms she had been in for his life, had in a manner stifled, since the battle of *Hexham*. She dispatched the dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerset* to the duke of *Burgundy*'s court, to sollicit fresh marks of this prince's ancient attachment to the house of *Lancaster*. But they were destined, like her, still to pass through strange trials, before they could rise from their distress. The several misfortunes they suffered before their arrival in *Flanders*, reduced them to such a miserable situation, that not daring to appear before the duke in their true character, for fear of being suspected for impostors, they were forced to beg alms for the support of life. *Philip de Commines* assures us, that he saw the duke of *Exeter* following barefoot the duke of *Burgundy*'s equipage, and to appearance reduced to the condition of a footman; and perhaps he might make use of this expedient as a means to draw himself out of this dreadful extremity; for he adds, that the duke was known without explaining to whom it was that he owed this obligation. But tho' the alliance the duke of *Burgundy* was entering into with *Edward*, did not at all dispose him to assist queen *Margaret*, or to give a favourable treatment to her ambassadors, the remains of an inclination towards the house of *Lancaster*, made him grant some favours to the

the two dukes, with a moderate pension, which was paid them as long as they staid at his court.

But the queen who made them leave her at Kerkebridge, where she landed, was then exposed to dangers which put her courage to a much greater trial. Tho' she had no doubt of her being safe in Scotland, she did not think proper, in the dismal situation she was in, to make herself known on her arrival there. This reason having determined her to deprive herself immediately of the benefit of being escorted by two dukes, there remained no body with her and her son, but the Seneschal of Normandy and his esquire, who seemed sufficient to conduct her without noise to Edinburgb, or to any other place, which a new design might induce her to make choice of. After having landed at Kerkebridge, she lodged at the house of an Englishman whose name was Cork; but whatever precaution she had used in disguising herself, her landlord knew queen Margaret, the support of the house of Lancaster, and king Edward's enemy: and as he was of the party of the White Rose, his prejudices joined to the desire of opening a way to the possession of wealth, made him conceive the thought of delivering up the queen and prince of Wales to the court of London. He engaged several other Englishmen in the same town, to enter into his design, and being provided with a bark, which they thought able to cross Solway Fritb, they surprised the Seneschal and his esquire in their sleep, and forced them to submit to be carried without noise to the port, the queen and prince were led thither after them, without being able to judge what new outrages they were condemned to suffer, and this uncertainty continued till break of day. But when the first rays of light had discovered the queen to the Seneschal, and he could no longer doubt of the treachery of his host, the greatness of the danger, the warmth of that zeal with which he was attached to the queen, and the valour and address necessary to form the character of a knight, enabled him so happily to get rid of the bonds, which he had laboured all night in untying, that on his approaching

proaching his esquire, he was able speedily to do him the same service. Every thing then that came to the hands of such brave warriors, became a terrible offensive weapon, and they presently dispatched the five traitors who conducted them, and who had not the courage long to dispute the victory.

In the mean while the oars, poles and every thing that might serve to conduct the bark, was either broke in the combat, or thrown into the sea, and carried away by the waves. Tho' in my recital of this strange adventure, I have omitted whatever seemed contrary to truth; I am still apprehensive lest I should have too closely adhered to the author from whom I translate it. He relates, that in spight of all the seneschal's and his 'squire's address, tho' they ought to be considered as men well versed in maritime affairs, the wind drove the bark to the entrance of the *Frith*, where by an extraordinary favour from heaven, they were cast on the coast of *Scotland*: but having no method of getting to land, all their hopes were founded on the possibility of their being drove upon some sand bank, where they might wait with less inquietude, for the fishermen who were continually crossing from the mull of *Galloway* to *Ireland*. But even this happiness was refused them; an impetuous south wind carried them into the *Straight*, and drove them with great violence towards a point of land in *Scotland*, called the *Cantire*. The greatest favour they received from heaven, after that of being preserved from the fury of the waves, was their landing, without being shipwrecked, on a very even coast, on which their bark was cast with such violence, that it continued fast in the sand. It was nevertheless necessary for some of them to walk knee deep in the water, in order to gain dry land; the seneschal therefore carried the queen on his shoulders, while his esquire performed the same service for the prince.

It was now extremely difficult for them to find a place inhabited; they walked a long way before they reached a village, and when they did so, they chose to stop there, rather than in a populous town; for having

the entire breadth of *Scotland* to cross before they could reach *Edinburgh*; they imagined from their last misfortunes, that so long a journey could not be performed without their meeting with new dangers. The place at which they arrived was inhabited by ignorant peasants, who had hardly heard of the war in *England*, and were scarce capable of distinguishing a queen, if they did not see her with a crown on her head, and a scepter in her hand. This simplicity freeing them from all fears, while they were amongst them, *Margaret* resolved to send the seneschal's esquire, in search of news relating to her husband, and to wait there till his return. It is not said what was her employment during this interval. The historian represents her making long reflections, which must have been very painful, if they were as tiresome to her, as they are to his readers.

The esquire's return, in short, delivered her from so miserable a situation. He arrived with some of the king of *Scotland*'s guards, and all the conveniences capable of softening her misery: but the news he brought, was only calculated to redouble her grief, and fill her mind with new apprehensions. *Henry* was fallen into a much more dreadful danger than all those from which she had been delivered. People already doubted his being alive, and if he still was so, there appeared but little probability of his life being long preserved. The Seneschal's men, after having bravely defended *Alnwick*, were obliged to surrender that place to the earl of *Warwick* and his brother, who had sent them into *France*, and made them consider the life they had granted them as a favour. *Edward* had cemented his throne by the punishment of all the lords attached to the house of *Lancaster*, and this oppressed party seemed for ever to have lost the hopes of rising.

The queen was resolved to know the full extent of her misfortunes before she would explain her intentions. Her soul bearing up against the most dreadful and disgraceful circumstances, she seemed never more strong, than in those moments in which every thing declared

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against her, and when she had nothing from without, nothing but herself to support her hopes. She complained that the esquire had, from a regard to her, abridged his recital, and desiring that even her son might be ignorant of nothing that would serve to strengthen his courage, and form him all at once to bravery and patience, she resolved that he should hear the relation of his father's misfortunes, and know those with which he himself was threatened.

The esquire who had in reality omitted the most fatal circumstances of *Henry's* misfortune, was forced by her orders to explain them. He said that this prince, while retiring to the frontiers of *Scotland*, after the battle of *Hexham*, had only seemed to neglect his wife and son, from his being persuaded that the *Seneschal of Normandy*, the dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerset*, and a number of other faithful lords, who attended over the safety of persons so dear to him, would take care to favour their flight, and conduct them to some place out of the reach of their enemies. He imagined in the necessity they were under of flying from the conqueror, their common interest rendered it necessary for them to be separated, in order to render their pursuit the more difficult. But having stopped at *Berwick*, he spent many days there, under the most dreadful inquietude, at seeing the arrival of the remains of his army, without being able to obtain the least news of the queen and the prince. However he still flattered himself that they had penetrated directly into *Scotland*, and from this hope advanced as far as *Selkirk*; but after long expectation and a fruitless march, he was filled with such dreadful apprehensions, that without considering what he himself had to apprehend, he took the resolution to return to *England*. His rashness was not occasioned by the hopes of reviving his party; he had seen the remains of it expire at *Hexham*, and the *Scots* who escaped from the slaughter, appeared discouraged at so unhappy an enterprize. But as the young prince's interest, was the only inducement that had made him wish for the success of his arms, he regarded his own life as a punishment,

ment, while he was obliged to live in continual fear for that of so dear a son ; and if he could not take him out of the hands of his enemies, he was resolved to perish with him.

How imprudent soever this extravagance of affection may appear, we can no otherwise account for that disregard *Henry* shewed to the safety of his own person, in repassing the *Tweed* with no other attendants besides six *Englishmen*, who were resolved to sacrifice their liberty and lives in his defence. But tho' this is the most intrepid action of his life, it does not deserve any great elogium, since it was contrary to all the rules of prudence. *Rapin*, who was very much at a loss how to explain it, attributes it, without the least degree of probability, to the embarrassment he was in to conceal himself after his defeat, as if it was not certain that the court of *Scotland* was still so well disposed towards him, as to send the earl of *Angus* to succour *Alnwick*, with a body of *Scots* troops. " *Henry*, says *Rapin*, not knowing where to retire, preposterously imagined, that he might be concealed in *England*. Perhaps, he flattered himself that the inhabitants of the northern counties would rise in his favour. But unhappy princes seldom meet with faithful friends; at least, it may be presumed, that fearing to be delivered up by the *Scots*, and having no conveniency to escape by sea, he hoped to find a safe retreat with some friends in *England*, till an opportunity offered of passing into *France*." Thus are historians sometimes entangled in their own conjectures. *Rapin* supports his in the same strain, when he adds, that " the two kings of *England* and *Scotland*, agreed upon certain secret articles, which could only concern the unfortunate fugitive king." In citing the collection of public acts to establish the reality of certain secret articles, he imagines, that he has sufficiently proved, that these articles relate to *Henry*, tho' there is not the least trace of this in the acts themselves. It is easy to see, that with this manner of reasoning, there are no arguments so void of pro-

probability, as not to be capable of being delivered as certain truths.

Rapin would have found in *Hayward*, that it was Henry's uncertainty as to the fate of the queen and prince, that made him lose sight of the danger, and neglect the care of his own safety. He went thro' the northern counties with a degree of happiness that seldom accompanies, for so long a time, such imprudence. He took no other precaution than to change the escutcheon on his arms, and to pass on the road for a minister of the king of *Scotland*, entrusted with some negotiation at the court of *London*. But the eagerness with which he endeavoured to gain informations of the queen and his son, had already began to raise some suspicions, when he took the resolution to stop at *Lutterworth*, or rather at a house in the neighbourhood of that town, which belonged to a gentleman whose mother had been his nurse. He there thought that he enjoyed a perfect safety, secured by friendship; and having sent part of his retinue to *London*, he waited for their return to gain those informations which he was unable to obtain in a long march. But the infidelity of a domestic, who knew him from the marks of respect paid him by his master, caused him to be taken at noon-day, with the gentleman by whom he was entertained, and all the king's followers: and indeed they could receive no advantage from resisting a troop of officers and soldiers quartered in the neighbourhood, to whom he had been sold. Insolence and the most outragious affronts were the treatment he received, till his arrival in *London*. He was set on a mean pitiful horse, covered with ridiculous ornaments, with his name on his back; and in every town and village into which he passed, they exposed him for some hours to be stared at by the populace, amongst whom there were always a number of wretches, who loaded him with abuse. On his arrival at *London*, he underwent still greater sufferings from the rage of those who had always been the partisans of the house of *York*, and who thought of making a merit in the eyes of the new court, by insulting

king *Edward's* enemy. After being led through the principal streets of the city, he was thrown into one of the darkest dungeons of the tower, and the first rumours always exaggerating the truth of events, his death was spoke of as of an execution already performed, or that soon would be so, when the seneschal's esquire took his informations at *Edinburgh*.

The queen was in such a consternation at hearing this relation, that before she could think of entering upon any deliberations, she shut herself up with her son for three days, without even allowing herself the conversation or sight of the seneschal. The young prince, who deprived by so many misfortunes and agitations of the education suitable to his birth, had received such endowments from the bounty of nature, as to give hopes that he would one day join to the goodness and sweetnes of disposition, that were his father's only virtues, the courage and extent of genius, required by the rank to which he was born, and much more by the deplorable state of his fortune, that could not be repaired without two such necessary qualifications. His mother, who possessed them beyond the ordinary bounds of her sex, saw with pleasure the first seeds of them in a child of his age, and endeavoured to cultivate them by her exhortations and ample. But as if she had foreseen to what he was destined by fate at his birth, she instilled nothing into his mind with such force and care, as constancy under the frowns of fortune, and a contempt of death under what form soever it should make its appearance. She besought him at the same time, to neglect nothing, and to fear nothing to obtain the possession of a crown, which heaven had given him a right to enjoy; and to comfort himself with the same firmness, if the loss should be found irreparable. She herself owed a part of her constancy to the repetition she continually made him of these great maxims; and if there is any valuable lesson to be drawn from her history, it is chiefly from that marvellous vigour of spirit, that made her suddenly pass from the lowest extremities of abasement and consternation, to which she was in appearance reduced,

duced, to the noblest resolutions and most heroic enterprizes.

She left the affliction to which she had devoted herself in this retirement only with a view of drawing from the very misfortunes she had lamented, new projects, which she added to those she had had time to employ herself in since her defeat at *Hexham*. In the first place, she persuaded herself, contrary to the public opinion of which she had been informed by the esquire, that her husband's life was not in such imminent danger, since he was safe in the tower of *London*. If he had been destined to perish, she imagined it would have been by the hand of some brutal or some perfidious wretch, from the hopes of pleasing *Edward*; and in spite of all the rage with which she supposed her enemies possessed, she could not imagine, that they would dare to execute him in public, and make a king submit to the block, who had received the crown by succession, and worn it for about forty years. There was no crime in being born to a throne; *Henry* had never committed any other; and tho' he had the misfortune to draw upon himself the contempt of his subjects, they had not reproached him with deserving their hatred.

On the other hand *Edward* began to make some malecontents at court. It was said there was some coolness between him and the earl of *Warwick*, and the whole family of the *Nevills*. Tho' the seneschal's messenger had been unable to dive into all the circumstances of so vague a report, he assured the queen that the earl had had a warm dispute with the king, and that their common friends trembled for the consequences of this quarrel. She appeared more tranquil with these two foundations of hope, on which she already formed many designs, that she kept close within her own bosom. But she easily found that she could not obtain from the *Scots* those supplies that were necessary to begin her enterprize. The minority of king *James* was not near finished; and tho' she had no reason to complain of his ministers, she had remarked, that in granting her a retreat and some trifling assist-

ance, they had not so much studied to aid her in an effectual manner, as to discharge a duty of honour that was become indispensible. *Berwick* left a wound in the bottom of her heart, which was not yet cured; and nothing could make her regard those as sincere friends, who had been capable of taking advantage of her misfortunes, to snatch from her the only place she possessed in *England*.

She nevertheless passed some days at *Edinburgh*; and whether it be that the ministers were glad of hastening her departure, and therefore forwarded it, by doing her all manner of services; or whether seeing her determined to go, they were willing to preserve the appearance of friendship and good understanding; they offered her a considerable sum, which she readily accepted, and two vessels to carry her to *France*, with a number of *English* who were found dispersed about *Scotland*, since the battle of *Hexham*. Some historians even pretend, that her son was contracted to the princess *Margaret*, king *James*'s sister; but the two parties were so young, and the events of futurity so uncertain, that if this circumstance be true, it can only pass for an extraordinary proof of the politeness of the *Scots*.

The wind was so little favourable to the queen, that the very first day she put to sea she endured a terrible storm, that separated the two vessels, and presented her with the prospect of finding an end to her unhappy life in the waves, that threatened to swallow her up. However, a calm succeeding, after she had been tossed about for twelve hours, she was forced by the damage her vessel had suffered, to put into the harbour of *Ecluse*; where she might have been apprehensive of meeting with new subjects of uneasiness, if the character of *Philip* the good, had not been two well known to inspire her with diffidence. He had just accepted a proposal of marriage made by *Edward*, between that prince's sister and the count de *Charolois*, his son, which must inevitably dissolve his ancient alliance with the house of *Lancaster*, and engage him openly in the interest of that of *York*. *Margaret* did not

not learn this news till after she had disembarked ; but when she was not detained at *Ecluse* by the shattered condition of her vessel, she thought she should injure the duke of *Burgundy* by suspecting him of being capable of a mean piece of treachery ; and far from stopping at this thought she demanded the permission to cross part of his estates in order to reach the dutchy of *Bar*, which belonged to the duke of *Calabria*, her brother. There is but little appearance that the dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerset* were still at the duke of *Burgundy's* court, and that they long enjoyed the pension this prince had granted them in their misery, since we find no account of their joining the queen at *Ecluse*, or in her passage through *Flanders*. Perhaps they did not arrive there till after her departure, and when she was with *Louis XI.* at *Chinon*.

Philip by his services, and the care he took of her safety, justified the opinion she had entertained of his generosity. He was then at *Hedin*, where he usually resided, from whence he sent her, not only a sum of money, which he gallantly informed her, she believed she was not so well provided with, as with beauty and courage ; but also a considerable detachment to preserve her from meeting with insults from the garrison of *Calais*, and to conduct her to the frontiers of his dominions ; and without explaining himself on the engagements he had just entered into with *Edward*, he excused himself, from the necessity of his affairs, which would not permit his doing any thing more in her favour. This language was but too plain ; she therefore only answered by some polite expressions, in which the historian says, there was an admirable mixture of the grandeur of her rank and character, with that kind of submission which gratitude requires. But while she was passing at some distance from *Calais*, she had the misfortune to lose her only friend, having no body with her in whom she could confide, but the seneschal ; she lost him at a time when the fatigue of a long journey rendered his assistance more necessary than ever. This gallant man suffered himself to be led by his curiosity, to observe the fortification of *Calais*,

and having approached to near that place, he was surrounded by a party of *English*, who made him prisoner, and conducted him to the brave *Vauclerc*.

However the queen being more happy in the remaining part of her journey, arrived in the dutchy of *Bar*, where she was received by her brother, with more tenderness than magnificence. He had been obliged to supply with considerable sums the unhappy king *Rene*, from whom *Lewis* the eleventh, as a reward for the many services he had done in *France*, had taken *Maine* and *Anjou*. *Margaret* easily comforted herself, for not finding that assistance from her own family on which she had not much depended. She stayed no longer at *Bar* than was necessary to recover from her fatigue by some days repose; and then directing her course thro' *France*, she arrived at *Paris* some days after the departure of the king, who was gone to *Chinon* with all his court. She was very glad of this opportunity, gaining informations in the capitol on the present interests of the kingdom, and of knowing what facility she might expect in obtaining succours, before she presented herself to this prince.

The seneschal's imprisonment was not of long continuance. He was at *Paris* when *Margaret* arrived there; and not being ignorant of the plan of her rout, he waited in that city for her coming. If it was agreeable to her to find again a man to whom she was under so many obligations, and from whom she might still hope to receive much service, she thought he owed him a still greater affection and gratitude, when she was informed what he had done to promote her interest. Having been received with singular marks of distinction by *Vauclerc*, who appologized for the error his men had committed; he imagined that the queen's affairs required his staying some days at *Calais*, and that in the opportunities he should have of conversing with the *English*, he could not fail of procuring such intelligence as might be of service to her. He had not been long there, before he learnt the disagreement between the king and the earl of *Warwick*; and this quarrel was raised to such a height, as to alarm

alarm all the partisans of the house of *York*. They were not ignorant of the obligations this family was under to the earl, as he had set the crown on *Edward's* head; they were persuaded that his arm was necessary to support it, and no body could imagine that a king who owed his good fortune to him, was capable of behaving towards him with so little discretion: yet he was not afraid of wounding him in the most sensible part, and the measures which the earl still kept to restrain his resentment, passed in every body's opinion for a singular effect of his moderation.

If we remember the passion he had conceived for *Elizabeth Grey*, we ought also to recollect that the king had not been able to see this amiable widow without being affected by her charms. *Edward* was the handsomest man of his time; the warlike exercises in which he had been educated from his infancy, had not prevented his being fond of gallantry, and from a folly common to all the great, on whom nature has bestowed less wit than exterior accomplishments, he imagined that his person gave him an invincible power over the heart of every woman. With this presumption which made him despise all his rivals he had considered *Elizabeth Grey* as an easy conquest; and tho' it was hardly possible for him to believe that her merit had gained her no other admirers, he was thought so superior to all kinds of competition, that he was not informed whether he had any to apprehend.

However, after having bestowed much fruitless assiduity to little purpose, he was told that the earl of *Warwick* had already possessed his mistress heart, and he now found from a thousand reasons, that this was a man whom he ought least to wish for a rival. If we may believe the writers of his life, he endeavoured to conquer his passion by a sacrifice that was the less shocking to his vanity, as he believed it only made to gratitude. But he knew not his own weakness. *Elizabeth* had made such a deep impression on his mind, that he returned to her with fresh ardour. The earl, who, perhaps, would have supported this treatment with less

less impatience, if he himself had been more favoured, could not forgive the king's disputing the heart of a woman with him, who had not spared his blood to secure him a crown. He was married, and this disposed him to torment himself with a still deeper melancholly. He publickly made such bitter complaints, as could not be long concealed from *Edward*. This first seed of division produced very surprising effects, both in *London* and throughout all *England*, from the high opinion the people had conceived of the earl's services, and of the gratitude he had a right to expect from his sovereign.

Their common friends nevertheless succeeded in reconciling them, and the king was at the whole expence of this reconciliation, by a new sacrifice of his passion. But he thought he had now purchased dearly enough the right of gratifying himself in another affair with less precaution. The earl had two daughters who were extremely amiable, of whom the youngest had till that time lived in private, and still continued to reside at one of his estates, where she had been kept by the tumult of war from the time of her infancy. Whether *Edward* had taken a fancy to her in some place where he had seen her by accident, or whether the single view of making the early pay for the forced sacrifice had made him, raised a desire of punishing him from a motive of revenge; he secretly endeavoured to gain his daughter's heart. Tho' all historians have mentioned this intrigue, none have related the particular circumstances; but notwithstanding the impossibility of discovering how far it was attended with success, it is certain that the king was surprised one night in the earl's castle, going out in the disguise of a peasant, and not being able to make his escape without discovering his name, the adventure could not remain concealed from the earl. Both he, and the greatest part of his friends regarded this as a violent outrage committed by *Edward* against his benefactor, and immediately left the court.

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This quarrel was the subject of conversation amongst all the *English* at the time when the Seneschal was at *Calais*. He took care not to neglect so important an occasion, especially after having sounded *Vauclerc's* dispositions, who was so much attached to the earl of *Warwick*, as to think himself hurt by the injuries he suffered, and who was even incapable of mentioning his resentment with any degree of moderation. As he might open his mind without distrust to a *Frenchman*, he told the seneschal, that *Edward* did not deserve such a servant as the earl, and that after having received so many benefits from him, it was an unworthy reward to dishonour him in the person of his daughter. The seneschal exasperating him by several pertinent reflections led him much farther. He made him relish several projects of revenge, which he advised him to propose to the earl, such as that of retiring to *Calais*, where nothing could be more easy than for him to make himself independant; and falling naturally on the house of *Lancaster*, he asked, what reason, after all, had the earl and his father to attach themselves to the house of *York*, if it was not the honour of raising up a party who had need of two such brave defenders, and from the advantage they might expect would attend their labours, by augmenting their fortune and heightening their glory? What interest had the *Nevills* in supporting their own world when the king's ingratitude ravished from them the only fruits they were capable of reaping from it? If, on the contrary, they felt the injuries and contempt they suffered, they had always a way open by which they might gratify their just resentment, with a certainty of finding all those advantages redoubled, which *Edward* did not blush to snatch from them. *Henry of Lancaster* it was true, was a prisoner in the tower, but had he not a son whose infancy already gave a prospect of his possessing all the virtues that have distinguished the greatest princes, and that there was the greater advantage in serving him, as his age would for a long time give him the possession of the supreme power, instead of bestowing it? Was not *Margaret* still in being,

ing, that heroine whose courage had stood the test of adversity without being shaken; that queen who had so nobly supported the dignity of the throne; that good and generous mistress, who had loved with such constancy her ministers and her favourites; and was it not surprizing that a man of the earl's merit had refused granting his friendship to the greatest queen *England* could ever boast of, to give it to a king, who had nothing commendable but his person? But there was still time enough for him to return from this blindness. It was in the earl of *Warwick's* power, to re-establish thrones after having pulled them down. Honour, interest, revenge, required it at his hands; and all *Europe*, who had lamented the ruin of the house of *Lancaster*, would applaud a hero who undertook to repair it.

Vauclere, already disposed to favour every thing that might draw the earl from his present humiliation, found himself so animated by this discourse, that he promised to represent to him even the least particular of what he had heard; and being informed that the queen had crossed the sea, and was soon to be at *Paris*, he did not despair of engaging the earl to send her some person in whom he could confide, to offer her his services, and to receive her proposals. He set sail for *England*, at the same time that he left the seneschal at liberty to go to *Paris*, and they agreed together on a certain method of establishing a correspondence.

Such pressing motives having retarded the queen's departure, she was one day agreeably surprized at seeing the seneschal bring in the lady *Nevill*, who came from *London* with secret instructions from her brother: For the earl having suffered himself to be persuaded by *Vauclere*, he could not find any body in whom he could place a greater confidence, than in a sister, versed in the intrigues of the courts, and connected by an early friendship with the queen. The lady *Nevill* had not changed her disposition, always tender, always made to be the dupe or the victim of love, she still joined a thousand charms, which age had not yet withered, to all that delicacy and solidity of mind that

raises

raises a woman above the rest of her sex, and makes her fit to manage the greatest affairs. But all her experience had not preserved her from a new engagement, and by the usual fatality of her fortune, she had placed her affections on a married man, and one of a character the least fit to make her find the happiness she sought for in a commerce of this nature.

Edward, after having taken the resolution to expose his whole fortune to the hazard of a battle in the bloody engagement at *Tonton*, had sent his two brothers *George* and *Richard* to *Holland*, from the single view of placing a part of his family out of the reach of fortune. These two princes returned after their brother's triumph, and immediately sharing the fruits of his victory, were created dukes, under the two most illustrious titles in *England*. *George*, who was the eldest had his choice, and was already determined to take the title of *Gloucester*, and to leave that of *Clarence* to *Richard*; when the lady *Nevill*, who had already conceived some inclination for him, made haste to inform him, that this was the most unhappy name of any in the *English* history. *Hugh Spencer*, *Thomas Woodstock*, and almost all those who had borne it had the misfortune of perishing by the hand of an executioner; and *Henry Plantagenet*, one of her lovers, had been stabbed in the tower. In short, how whimsical soever we may find this observation, the sequel of events will let us see that the same name became fatal to *Richard*, who accepted it on his brother's refusal.

George for this reason chose the title of *Clarence*, which was not more happy; but in receiving the lady *Nevill*'s advice, he imagined that he could perceive in this officious care, a visible inclination for his person, which would not suffer him to refuse her the offer of his heart. His offers were accepted; but *Edward*, who had other views for his brother, obliged him to marry one of the earl of *Warwick*'s daughters, and consequently the lady *Nevill*'s neice, who thus found herself forced to do violence to her inclinations. However, the duke of *Clarence*, after having had the weakness to consent to what the king desired, found himself

himself called to her by the same sentations, and the bonds of so close an alliance did not prevent his visiting her with the same familiarity, and the same eagerness. This intrigue being at the height, when *Edward* began openly to offend the earl of *Warwick*; the duke of *Clarence* was not at liberty to side with the king, against his wife's father, and his mistress's brother.

The lady *Nevill* began with making the queen a confession of all these particulars. She also gave her the history of all that had passed at the court of *London* since the revolution. *Edward* had exasperated others besides the earl of *Warwick*. Whether it was that his unbounded propensity to the pleasures of love, carried him without distinction to all who were capable of flattering so general a taste; or whether the uneasiness of not being able to get rid of his inclination for *Elizabeth Grey*, made him seek to cure himself of this passion, by the multitude of his intrigues; he had made irreconcileable enemies of a great number of husbands, whose wives he had seduced, and had exasperated against him an infinite number of families, which he had filled with disorder. Even his promise to the earl to deprive himself of the pleasure of seeing *Elizabeth Grey*, was only observed in appearance. It was known that he went secretly to *Northampton*, where that lovely widow had retired; and the earl who continued passionately in love, without meeting with a return of affection, suspected so dangerous a rival of being upon better terms with her, than he publickly pretended. Thus to the resentment he felt at being wronged in the person of his daughter, he still added that of being played upon by false appearances; without reckoning all the gloomy ideas that arise from so furious a passion as jealousy.

The truth was, that in the choice of a lover, *Elizabeth* would have preferred the earl; her sentiments had been sufficiently discovered in the danger, from which, by his sister's assistance, she had delivered him; and the complacency with which she received his visits, ought to have convinced him, that she was sorry at finding

finding herself stopped by reasons not to be overcome. He was married ; what appearance was there then, that a widow of her age would sacrifice to him not only her honour, but also all the hopes of advancing her fortune, which she might naturally found on her youth and beauty ? If she did not yet imagine that the king had any thoughts of raising her to the throne, perhaps she might already know enough of his weakness to entertain hopes of leading him to it with a little art and management. That very inconstancy which made him continually in search of new pleasures, even in the families of the *London* citizens, did not lessen the assiduity with which he paid his court to her in secret. Besides, as he himself made a merit of his inconstancy, as proceeding from the despair of a heart that sought for ease under its torments, she probably concluded, that a prince led by his passions to commit such indecencies, might at one time or other forget the distance between her and him, and pass over every difficulty to gratify himself, when she should so far have gained upon his affections, as to render herself necessary to his happiness.

Thus divided between her inclination and her ambition, *Elizabeth* successively received the king and the earl, with this difference, that while she affected to look upon the earl as on a friend for whose esteem she had a high value, she opened her house to him without the least air of mystery : But on the other hand, not having any pretence for receiving the king with the same liberty, she was obliged to improve the moments that were offered her, and even frequently to consent to see him at such times, and in such places, as would have rendered her complaisance suspected, if she had not always taken care to make use of such precautions as were sufficient to preserve her honour.

This double commerce one day exposed her to everything that she had reason to apprehend as most disagreeable ; but what at first gave her very disagreeable apprehensions, became the most solid foundation of her hopes. The king being desirous of having her nearer *London*, and that she should have some pretence for

for not living continually in *Northamptonshire*, where she had her estate and family; secretly procured her an inheritance, to which it was said she had no title, but that it was left her under the pretence of its being a restitution made by a gentleman named *Saunders*, who, when dying, thought himself obliged, by this donation, to atone for some unknown injuries he had done her during the course of the civil wars. There is great probability that *Edward* paid the full value to the heirs of *Saunders*. But affecting to praise so just a donation, he invested her in it with all the formalities necessary to render it irrevocable. It consisted of an estate near the capital, to which *Elizabeth* did not fail to come to take possession. The king was there one day very late, when the earl came without any attendants. Tho' *Elizabeth* had received this prince with the precautions she always observed, that is to say, in the presencs of her mother, and some other persons whose characters secured her from suspicion, the air of secrecy and familiarity with which *Edward* came thither, the promises he had made the earl, and the recent affront he had given him by visiting his daughter, made all the company fear this meeting would produce a scene of confusion. The earl was accustomed to enter the house with the utmost freedom, and if it appeared impossible to refuse him with decency, those civilities which were not to be dispensed with on any pretence, it was still more difficult to make a proposal to the king, that he should retire without being perceived; this last part being nevertheless the safest, *Elizabeth* herself represented to this prince, that to avoid running the hazard of meeting so proud a man as the earl, it was proper he should condescend to slip out at a private door, and instantly return to *London*. This proposal threw *Edward* into a violent agitation. After having deliberated for some moments he complained of the necessity he was under, on account of the lady's honour, to give place to a presumptuous subject, who continually seemed to brave him. And at last, giving another turn to his complaints: "What are then his pretensions, said he to *Elizabeth*. He is married, and I am not."

“not.” His resentment, however, did not prevent his retiring; and the earl of *Warwick*, whom they found means to stop for a moment, did not perceive any thing that could give him offence.

Elizabeth, reflecting on the king’s last expression, found something in it that more than ever cherished her most flattering hopes. She treated the earl with a much greater reserve than ever she had done, who with a view of delivering himself from an obstacle that had frequently put a check upon his behaviour, had taken the opportunity of his daughter’s adventure, to send his wife and children to *Calais*. He was in this situation at *Vaucere’s* arrival in *London*; when the principal agitations of his mind disposed him readily to embrace all such counsels, as led him to seek revenge, and prevented his opposing the advice of so faithful a friend. They concerted together the means of beginning this great enterprize, when not doubting but that they should be observed in *England*, they imagined that the principal steps ought to be taken abroad; and in consequence of their joint deliberations, the lady *Nevill* was commissioned to go to *France* to lay their sentiments before the queen.

Besides the earl’s friends, and the assistance that a man held in such esteem throughout all *England*, might hope to obtain from those who considered him as the hero of the nation, there were two sorts of malecontents whom he did not doubt would readily join him. The one the relations or friends of an infinite number of victims whom *Edward* had sacrificed in order to establish his authority, and who were accustomed to regard him as an usurper and a tyrant. In this number were comprehended all the ancient partisans of the house of *Lancaster*; men who were watched too closely, and too much terrified by the rigour with which they had been treated, to rise at a hazard; but were always ready eagerly to run at the first signal that revived their hopes. The others were those who complained of their services not being sufficiently rewarded by the house of *York*, and who repented of having squandered away their wealth and blood with so little profit to themselves

themselves. *Edward* imagined that he had given the nation sufficient proofs of his gratitude by some benefits bestowed on the great. But while he created some dukes and earls, he neglected the subaltern officers, and all the other orders of the state that had served him with much disinterestedness and zeal. They had excused this coldness and neglect, as long as they thought him obliged to employ his revenues to the exigencies of the new government; but when they saw him turn all his expences to the gratifications of pleasure, and squander away twenty thousand crowns, which was at that time a very considerable sum, to obtain the favour of a citizen's wife, they could not forbear uttering their complaints and murmurs.

But the lady *Nevill*'s instructions were not confined to making the queen an offer of her brother's assistance, and laying before her on what hopes he was willing to undertake to serve her. She had orders to learn from the queen, what supplies the earl might expect to receive from *France* and the other states whose assistance she had doubtless resolved to sollicit. He demanded a body of at least four thousand men, with which he desired she would make a descent, not in the northern counties, where the war would infallibly be drawn out to a great length; but in the south of *England* or in *Kent*. He also promised that the prince her son should be proclaimed king as soon as they were landed, and that without giving *Edward* time for consideration, she would advance by long marches directly towards *London*, while he would meet her with his friends, and such troops as he could assemble, to introduce her immediately into the capital. This design, which at first seemed to the queen to be rash and indiscreet, had a very different appearance when the lady *Nevill*, who took a pleasure in surprizing her, shewed her an agreement signed by the marquis of *Montague*, the earl's brother, and *Bourchier* archbishop of *Canterbury*, the one general of king *Edward*'s forces, and the other primate of all *England*, and head of the council; by which these two lords espoused the interest of *Henry*

of Lancaster, and reproached themselves for having abandoned their duty to serve an ungrateful prince ; and it immediately appeared very evident to the queen, that she had few obstacles to fear, while she had on her side the arbiters of the civil and military power. Her surprise still increased, when she saw another obligation made by the duke of Clarence, who, notwithstanding his being king Edward's brother, appeared as much resolved as the others on his ruin.

She knew already from the lady Nevill's confession, that the duke was her lover, and that being besides attached to the earl of Warwick by his marriage with his daughter, it was natural that he should take some share in the resentment of the Nevill's : She also understood, that the marquis of Montague might sympathize with his brother in his disgrace ; and that the archbishop, who was their near relation, might be disgusted at seeing their services so soon forgotten ; but notwithstanding all the experience she had had during her life, of the inconstancy of the English, she had such difficulty to conceive the possibility of a revolution of sentiments, which went so far, as in the one to violate the ties of blood, in the other the obligations of honour, and with the prelate the fidelity he had been the first in swearing to the late duke of York and his descendants ; that scarce giving credit to the testimony of her own eyes, she pressed the lady Nevill to make her better comprehend so strange an alteration.

The cause by which it was produced was so simple, that this was another subject of astonishment for the queen. Bourchier had expected from the king's gratitude his solicitations at the court of Rome to obtain for him the dignity of a cardinal ; and had made no difficulty of informing him, that this favour was deferred too long. Edward at first excused himself from the little credit he believed he had at the court of Rome. He had wrote to Pope Pius the second, to inform him of his advancement to the throne, and this pontiff had congratulated him by a brief ; but the terms he made use of were so artfully chosen, that his approbation being only founded on the proofs Edward himself had

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given of his right, he seemed to reserve to himself the liberty of retracting them on a different conjuncture of affairs. This policy was very disagreeable to the king, and the more so, as the pope paid no manner of regard to the warm complaints he made against it. But *Bourcier* insisting on the pope's having acknowledged his right, and on the good understanding he still kept up with *England*, the king tired with his importunity, replied pleasantly, that of his two favourite vices, which he knew to be incontinence and ambition, he left him the liberty of indulging so fully the first, that he should have the less impatience about the gratification of the latter. The archbishop was of a haughty temper, and the ridicule he expected to be cloaked under this pleasantry, raised in his heart emotions of hatred, to which he longed to give vent.

Montague's infidelity was more easy accounted for, and the queen would not have suspected there being any other cause for it, besides his friendship for his brother, and his resentment for the affront *Edward* had cast upon their family. However, it appeared by the resistance he at first made against the earl's solicitations, that these two reasons would not have been sufficient to shake his allegiance, if he had not been exasperated at seeing himself deprived of a rich heiress whom he loved, and whom the king, who began to distrust the *Nevills*, had caused to be married to the lord *Seales*.

With regard to the duke of *Clarence*, the lady *Nevill* could produce no other reasons than the strict connection there was between him and her, and the rest of her family; unless we lay any stress on the mortification he suffered before his marriage, by *Edward's* refusing to let him marry the same heiress he had taken from *Montague*, to give her to his rival. A division between brothers is not very uncommon: the duke of *Exeter* was another example; for tho' he formerly married *Edward's* sister, he was not the less constant in his attachment to queen *Margaret*, and even lived at a distance from his wife, who would not leave *England*

to follow him. But the event shewed, that the earl of Clarence secretly nourished much deeper views, to which all the reasons given for his conduct were only a pretext. He was presumptive heir to the crown. He found that his brother was hated by the great, and by those who had best served him; and without discovering his hopes, he flattered himself that by heightening the quarrel, he might be so happy as to gather the fruit. If it be thought surprising that he did not put this confidence in the earl of Warwick and his sister, it probably proceeded from his thinking himself sure of making them enter soon or late into his designs; and that in the necessity he was under of making use of the name and assistance of the house of Lancaster, he would not expose them suddenly to feel the remorse of a double treason; this must doubtless be the case, at least if we do not suppose that it was already known to them all, and that they acted in concert. However this be, as it was of very great importance for the queen to know what foundation she had to rely on the motives of those who offered her their service, so it must be agreeable to the reader to see the first springs that lead to great and important events, and to admire how the most slight and trifling causes sometimes produce the strangest revolutions, that in their source might have been easily prevented.

Margaret had so little distrust after this explication, that opening her mind with the same frankness, she made no difficulty of confessing to the lady Nevill, that her own designs were yet founded only on mere hopes, and that even these were diminished since her arrival in Scotland, by a thousand disappointments, that had made her fear meeting with more obstacles than she had foreseen in procuring the succour which she had thought almost infallible. Without mentioning the refusal she had already met with from the duke of Burgundy, and even from the duke of Calabria, who had given her no better hopes of the king of Sicily her father, she had learnt at Paris that she had not much

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more to expect from the king of *France*, and the duke of *Brittany*, though she had placed an equal dependence on these two powers. *Lewis* the eleventh having formed the project of obtaining an absolute authority throughout the whole extent of his dominions, thought of diminishing the excessive power of the great. Of these the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brittany* were the most formidable, as much from the habit they had obtained of independency, as from the grandeur of their demesnes, and the multitude of their subjects. To attack both at once was an enterprize that surpassed his strength; but he flattered himself with the hopes of ruining them successively, and the duke of *Brittany* was the first against whom he resolved to turn his arms. He had a pretence for this in the refusal which *Arthur* the third had made of paying homage to king *Charles* the seventh. *Francis* the second, successor to *Arthur*, had made the same refusal, and the king being then too weak to exact a submission, which the dukes of *Brittany* for a long lime contested with him, found himself unable to follow the example of *Charles* the fifth, who upon a quarrel of the same nature had confiscated the dutchy of *Brittany*, and re-united it to the crown by a decree of the parliament. *Lewis* the eleventh being resolved to undertake what his predecessor was unable to perform, had already ordered some troops to file off into *Anjou*; and *Morvilliers*, his chancellor, had in his name forbid the duke's arrogating to himself the rights of sovereignty in his states. On this the duke, who was taken unprovided, had recourse to stratagem: He demanded a delay of three months, in order to consult his subjects; but made use of this time to cabal with the grandeys, by which means he formed a powerful league against *Lewis*, that took the name of the league of the *Public Good*.

This news began to be publickly known, when the queen arrived at *Paris*. In discovering her fears to the lady *Nevill*, she promised to try every method to obtain *Lewis*'s assistance. Tho' he should not grant her a body of regular troops, she did not doubt in
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the least his allowing her the permission he had already given her of enlisting volunteers into her service. The seneschal, who was called in at the end of this conversation, offered her all his credit and his fortune. In short, requiring nothing of the earl of Warwick's sister but time to repair to court, Margaret desired her to wait her return, and to let her brother know the gratitude with which she received his offers. She set out for Chinon where Lewis then was with all his court, Her demands and the manner of making them were premeditated. As the lady Nevill had only requested that her brother's proposals should be concealed from the king, she promised herself, that in spite of all the projects in which this prince was engaged, he would not let so favourable an opportunity of troubling the repose of England escape him. Edward's alliance with the duke of Burgundy had begun to give him umbrage. He even knew that the duke of Brittany had endeavoured to obtain the assistance of England. And according to his system of politicks, the ruin or establishment of an enemy was an encrease of his own grandeur and power.

These flattering ideas agreeably entertained the queen till her arrival at Chinon: but before she could see the king, the lady Nevill, who arrived at the same time with her, begged with such impatience to speak to her, that she laid aside every other engagement to receive her. This lady came not only to let her know the extreme shame she felt at having been employed by her brother in making overtures, the fruits of which were suddenly vanished, but to advise her as from herself not to run the hazard of mentioning them to the king, if she was not resolved to receive the confusion of seeing them disavowed. In a word, Vauclerc had been sent by the earl of Warwick, and arrived at Paris almost at the same instant in which the queen left it, with orders to impose silence on the lady Nevill, if she had not yet broke it; or to make her retract all his proposals if she had already mentioned them to the queen.

This extraordinary instance of inconstancy having filled this prince's with rage and indignation ; the earl's sister, who thought it her interest to justify herself, in a place where she did not believe she was safe from the queen's resentment, related by what new caprice *Edward* had caused all the projects of the male-content lords to be overthrown. It was not known whether he had a distrust of any secret plot ; but submitting to the advice of his council, who pressed him to marry, and not daring to explain himself on the only marriage which from the bottom of his heart he was desirous of entering into, he consented to demand of *Lewis* the eleventh, the princess *Bona* of *Savoy*, who was educated at the court of *France*, under the care of queen *Charlotte* her sister. He desired the earl of *Warwick* to discharge this negotiation, and with a pretended, or sincere resolution to forget *Elizabeth Grey*, said to the earl a hundred obliging things, from the hopes of purchasing again his friendship, by making him this sacrifice. This was indeed the way to gain the most perfect authority over a man so passionately enamoured. The earl immediately stifled his hatred, and bringing over his friends to the same sentiments, he accepted the embassy to *France* without any other security than his master's word. From that day the king avoided seeing *Elizabeth*, when her regret at losing her hopes of mounting the throne, made her return to *Northampton* ; and the earl who had so far penetrated into her views, as to fear that an eagerness to see her again might have an air of triumph that would excite her anger, pretended to take no notice of her being at a distance from *London*. But having immediately informed his sister of it, he hastened the preparations for an embassy, the success of which appeared to him to be of greater importance to himself than to the king.

Margaret heard this recital with a curiosity that did not at all diminish her indignation. She divided her attention between the earl of *Warwick's* conduct, and that which she ought to maintain with his sister. It

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was beneath a heart like hers to wreck her revenge on a woman: but she remembred that she was queen, and not having forgot the obligations of the two brothers, and those of the duke of *Clarence* and the archbishop, which she had had in her own hands, she took the resolution to get all those writings into her possession, of which she might make a most formidable use against her enemies. She therefore ordered the lady *Nevill* to give them her, with the tone of a queen who would be obeyed. But happily for her brothers, she had prudently left them with *Vauclerc*. Margaret not believing her protestations, used perhaps with too much rigour the authority she thought she still preserved over a subject; for calling some gentlemen who attended her, she ordered them to bring her whatever they found about that woman her enemy, and then retiring, abandoned her to be rudely searched. The lady *Nevill* was treated with too little respect by men who thought of making a merit of their zeal; however nothing was found about her but a letter from her brother, that contained nothing capable of injuring him: and the vexation they suffered at having so poorly gratified the queen's resentment, increased that roughness with which they treated her.

Having no hope of obtaining satisfaction for this insult from the king, she carried her grief with her to *Paris*, where she resolved to wait her brother's arrival. *Vauclerc*, enraged at the outrage she had received, offered to revenge her in a singular manner; but from the design which brought the earl of *Warwick* to *France*, she flattered herself, that if the king had ever so little inclination to give his sister in law to the king of *England*, he would treat his ambassador favourably, and that she should find an opportunity to give the queen some mortification. Besides, the secrets she had entrusted her with could be attended with no ill consequences, while they were not accompanied with any proofs.

Margaret, however had this advantage, that not having entered into any projects, she had made no dis-

covery that they could turn to her disadvantage. But having nothing besides her misfortunes to urge in her behalf, she met with all the difficulties from *Louis* that she had foreseen. Notwithstanding the necessity she was in for troops and money, he refused her the permission he had before granted her of raising volunteers, and telling her that an enterprize executed by halves would diminish the confidence and ardour of her partisans ; he desired her, for her own interest, to defer her designs till a more favourable conjuncture offered. She nevertheless spared no pains to make him see the advantage he might reap from serving her ; however her vexations at seeing her views formed on so many reflections, succeed so ill, made her have recourse to artifices, which tho' less worthy of her, were attended with much greater success.

Tho' she could not hope that the earl of *Warwick* would for very slight reasons break the new engagements he had entered into with *Edward*, she thought it was not impossible to revive the principal cause of their division ; and in spite of all the hatred she bore the earl, she was forced to acknowledge, that it was evident he alone had cast her down, so none but he could be able to raise her up again. The new affront she had just given his sister, added to so many desperate attempts she had incessantly been levelling at him, not permitting her to tempt him by ordinary methods, she thought herself still able to put him under the necessity of returning to her, by totally destroying the renewed confidence between *Edward* and him. Before she sought for other methods this prince's passion for *Elizabeth Grey* appeared to be one that might be made use of on this occasion. If after his sending the earl to *France*, he could be brought to see his mistress oftner than ever, and some probable adventure could be built upon it, capable of inspiring the earl with the least suspicion of having been deceived, she did not doubt but that the resentment of so haughty a man would make him break all measures, and that the desire of revenge would soon become his most violent

olent passion ; but what appearance was there of her being able to put those springs in motion, that were necessary to be employed in *London* ? Fortune, a term of a vague and indefinite meaning, but which we are always forced to have recourse to when we are ignorant of the method of untying the secret knot of events, favoured the queen beyond her hopes.

She had about her a very artful woman, whose name was *Trott*, a near Relation to *Elizabeth Lucy*, who had for a long time been *Edward's* mistress, till her vexation at being abandoned by this prince made her retire to *Northampton*, the very town where *Elizabeth Grey* resided with her family. The queen put such confidence in this lady, whom she had loaded with benefits, as to propose her going to *England*, and there to hold herself in readiness to serve her. While she was giving her instructions relating to her intentions, *Edmond of Somerset*, who had borne the title of duke ever since his brother's death, arrived at *Paris* to join her, with all the zeal that was hereditary in his family. The many injuries he had suffered from fortune, and those he had yet to fear, did not prevent his offering to engage in an enterprize, the plan of which he highly approved. He saw a facility in it which the queen was ignorant of. Sir *John Grey*, *Elizabeth's* deceased husband, had been his intimate friend, and if it was necessary to make use of artifice, he might pretend to return to *England* to procure her interest in his behalf, to beg her to grant him a retreat, and to let her know, that the opinion he had conceived of her goodness, had made him have recourse to her. By this means he flattered himself that he should soon learn upon what terms she stood with the king, and assist her by his advice to derive all the advantages possible from the ascendancy she had over him.

While he was going to *London* with the lady *Trott*, *Margaret*, who was incapable of losing sight of her object even for a moment, went to pay a visit to the king of *Sicily* her father, who was retired to *Aix* in *Provence*, and received a moderate sum from him, the only assistance he was capable of offering her. From

thence she took the road to *Normandy*, by the seneschal's advice, who had promised to assemble not only the five hundred men who had followed her the preceding year into *Scotland*, but with them a great number of *English*, who went into that province, in the retinue of the *Lancastrians*, and who had been attached to the duke of *Bedford*. *Lewis*, of whom she had particularly desired this permission, could not refuse granting as a favour what she seemed to have a right to demand. As the *English* who were settled in *France*, came there with a view of living under the government of their king, they had doubtless a right to return to their native country, when the provinces in which they were fixed had changed their masters. However, *Morvilliers* represented to the king that this liberty ought not to be granted to all without distinction; since a great number of those foreigners would soon think of improving an opportunity of dispensing either with the payment of the debts they had contracted in the places where they lived, or fulfilling other engagements which they could not be called to an account for in *England*. Thus the permission obtained by the queen was limited to those who were not bound by any civil obligation. But this restriction diminished the ardour they had at first shewn for ranging themselves under her ensigns.

The uneasiness she felt at this, made her return to *Paris*, leaving to the seneschal the care of executing what he had represented as a resource, after so many refusals or insignificant offers that left her nothing else to hope for. It was not, however, any new views that determined her so suddenly to return to the capital. She had received advice by a person whom she left there, that the duke of *Exeter*, charmed at having found her out, waited for her with extraordinary impatience, but durst not go to meet her in *Normandy*, because it was of the greatest importance that the reasons which brought him to *France* should not be discovered. This lord, after having been exercised in misfortunes had passed into *Holland*, without its being known with what design, or whether it was before

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or after the queen's return ; but he was there when the count de *Charolois*, dissatisfied with his father's easiness in yielding to king *Lewis* by the treaty of *Arras*, all the towns situated on the *Some*, suddenly retired into that province. Being known to this prince, he was not looked upon with so good an eye, in a place where they appeared to have a suspicion of queen *Margaret*'s ministers, as at the court of the duke his father. The count, who was soon to marry king *Edward*'s sister, therefore sent him orders to retire. With what view soever this order was given, it gave him such disturbance, as to fill him with a resentment, which he soon found an opportunity of making an attempt to gratify. While he was sailing along the coast of *Flanders* in a merchant ship, in which he had embarked at the *Brille*, he was stopped by a *French* man of war that was sailing towards *Holland*. The captain, who was the bastard of *Rupembre*, had no other view, but to inform himself of the port to which he was bound ; but having known again the duke of *Exeter*, whom he remembered to have seen at the court of *France*, he learnt from him the reasons he had to complain of the count de *Charolois*, and this was sufficient to make him explain himself on the commission with which he was sailing to *Holland*. *Lewis* the eleventh exasperated against the count, who had frequently failed in paying him the respect which he thought his due, had no sooner learnt his having left his father's court with a small retinue, than he proposed to have him taken. Several historians have pretended, that he also thought of seizing the duke of *Burgundy* ; but it is certain, that considering the carrying off the count de *Charolois* as an enterprize that might easily be executed, he had given this commission to *Rupembre* by an order signed under his hand ; the vessel was fitted out at *Dieppe*, with some chosen soldiers, who without knowing on what expedition they were sent, had orders to pay an implicit obedience to *Rupembre*'s command.

Rupembre

Rupembre did not lavishly bestow his confidence, in gaining for an associate so brave a man as the duke of *Exeter*; but he did not expect the proposal which the duke made him in his turn. As this nobleman was desirous of making every thing contribute to the queen's interest, a vessel so well equipped, and commanded by a person of known valour, might afford them a happy opportunity of attempting a new descent on the coast of *England*. This was the queen's opinion and that of all those who were attached to her fortune. They never required more than a small number of men to open a way for them into the country, as if they were sufficiently certain, from the natural disposition of the *English*, that they had nothing else to do but to make known the signal of sedition and war, in order suddenly to raise an army. The duke therefore conjured *Rupembre* to enter into a project from which he would certainly reap immortal honour, with all the advantages he should please to require from the queen's gratitude; and promising on this condition to accompany him to *Holland*, he made him consent to sail directly to *England*, as soon as he should have landed the count de *Charolois* in the first port of *France*. Tho' the bastard was extremely imprudent in engaging in a scheme of this nature, without the participation of the king his master, he was however less so, in the capitulation he made with the duke on the certainty of his reward. Perhaps it might be pardonable in an adventurer, who had nothing to hope for but from his courage, to catch at a proposal which he considered as a favour from heaven, and even to suffer himself to be intoxicated by the ideas of glory and wealth, which suddenly filled his imagination. But being unwilling to trust to doubtful promises, he informed the duke that the queen was in *France*, and proposed his going to her, to engage her to approve their resolution. Besides the design of securing the reward of his services, he knew that this princess only longed for an opportunity of repassing the sea, and he did not doubt but her presence and that of her son would contribute as much

much as his succours, to reanimate their party. Therefore thanking the duke for the offer he had made of accompanying him into *Holland*, he pressed him on the contrary, to go to *Paris*, and to consult with the queen on the manner of putting their enterprize in execution. The rendezvous he appointed was the port of *Dieppe*, from whence he set out; and confiding in the success of his voyage, he only desired that the duke would be secret, and allow him fifteen days time.

Margaret knew the spirit and valour of *Rupembre*, but in the midst of the joy she felt at finding new defenders, her pride made her fear, that an armament so very inconsiderable, and under the conduct of a chief whose character appeared but ill suited to royal majesty, would render her enterprize desppicable in the eyes of the *English*. The first of these objections were removed by the hope of causing a part of the troops the seneschal was still raising in *Normandy*, to embark at the same time; but this would be to divulge *Rupembre's* promises, and to expose him to the danger of being arrested by the king's orders. In the mean time how, could she reject the most favourable offer she had for a long time received, and the only one whose effect would be so speedy as to answer her impatience? And if the duke of *Somerset* should happily prevail in rekindling the hatred between *Edward* and the earl of *Warwick*, could she too soon secure the first assistance that would become necessary to enable the earl to put his last project in execution? She consented, in short, to the duke of *Exeter's* proposal, on reserving to herself the power of regulating the form of this new expedition according to such circumstances as should offer.

In the mean time the earl of *Warwick* arrived at *Paris* with such a numerous and brilliant retinue, as had never been equalled for magnificence by any *English* ambassador. He made a sumptuous entry, the glory of which was shared by the lady *Nevill*, who appeared with her brother with extraordinary lustre,

as if her design had been to humble the queen by the comparison of such splendor, with the situation of that princess, who, on the contrary, retrenched all she could decently take from her rank, to employ it to better purposes. *Margaret* seemed to take no notice of this weak revenge, and while the earl went to press this negotiation at court, she received news from *Somerset*, which made her foresee, that she should be soon courted by those who seemed to regard her with contempt. She had made use of some secret measures, at court, to raise difficulties against the success of *Edward's* demand ; but on the advices she received from *London*, she acted a contrary part, by indirectly supporting the earl's embassy, and removing all the obstacles that might draw it out to an unnecessary length. She had been informed that the king, being fallen into his former weakness, could not leave *Elizabeth Grey* even for a moment, and that they did not despair of their being able amidst the transports of so blind a passion, to make him take the resolution to marry her. This was more than the queen dared to hope for. She already enjoyed the rage of the earl of *Warwick*, who could not learn that *Edward* again visited his mistress, without making him the object of all his hatred. What would it be if he should marry her ? and if in this interval he should succeed in obtaining *Lewis's* sister for this prince, to what an excess of fury would he suffer himself to be carried, at finding himself intrusted with a ridiculous embassy, contrived to make him the jest of all *Europe*.

This hope gave the queen such joy, that with the view of halting the earl's success, she engaged the seneschal of *Normandy* to repair to court, and to take advantage of his knowledge of her affairs, to make *Lewis* pass over some scruples that appeared to stop him. He had never yet ceased to acknowledge her for queen of *England*, and the prince her son was treated in *France* as her heir to the crown. Besides *Edward's* authority did not seem to him sufficiently confirmed, and he beheld in *Margaret* not only so many

many qualities that rendered her worthy of her rank, but one of his nearest relations, and the daughter of an unhappy king, whom nothing had been able to detach from the interests of *France*. But the seneschal represented, that since the battles of *Tantone* and *Hesdham*, there was such small hopes of restoring *Henry* to the crown, that it was not now worth while to attend to such vain considerations. He spoke of the queen's project as a last effort, which she thought she owed to her honour, and the miserable situation of her husband; but which she herself knew to be incapable of succeeding. He even took occasion from the misfortune that had just happened to the bastard of *Rupembre*, to let him know how extremely low the queen was reduced, when the most solid foundations of her enterprizes had been the assistance she hoped to receive from this adventurer. It was just known that *Rupembre*, instead of carrying off the count de *Charolois*, had suffered himself to be taken by that prince, and that on the knowledge they had obtained of his design, by the order they found about him, they were preparing to try him with the utmost rigour. Thus the queen, who had no longer any assistance to expect from him, drew another advantage from that assistance in making it serve to persuade the king, that her cause was very desperate, when it reduced her to accept of such defenders.

These reasons effectually removed all the difficulties that had retarded the success of the earl's negotiation. *Lewis* promised that *Edward* should have his sister-in law. Such an important piece of news being immediately spread abroad, *Margaret* pretended to be extremely grieved; while the earl of *Warwick*, now happy and triumphant, took care to send an express to *London* to communicate to the king the success of his embassy. But at the time when he waited to receive thanks and congratulations, he learnt that *Edward* was just married to *Elizabeth Grey*. Tho' this marriage had been performed in private, and the public continued in some uncertainty

tainty about it; the queen, who was not ignorant of any circumstance, did not fail to communicate it to the earl, even before he was informed of it from the zeal of his friends. *Somerset* had crossed the sea as soon as he had seen the king bound by all the formalities that render the knot indissoluble; and as it was his address that made this prince fall into the snare; it was he also who gave the queen the pleasure of gathering the first-fruits from it, by the address with which she caused this news to be carried to the earl, at the very time when he was celebrating his happiness by a grand entertainment.

End of the First VOLUME.